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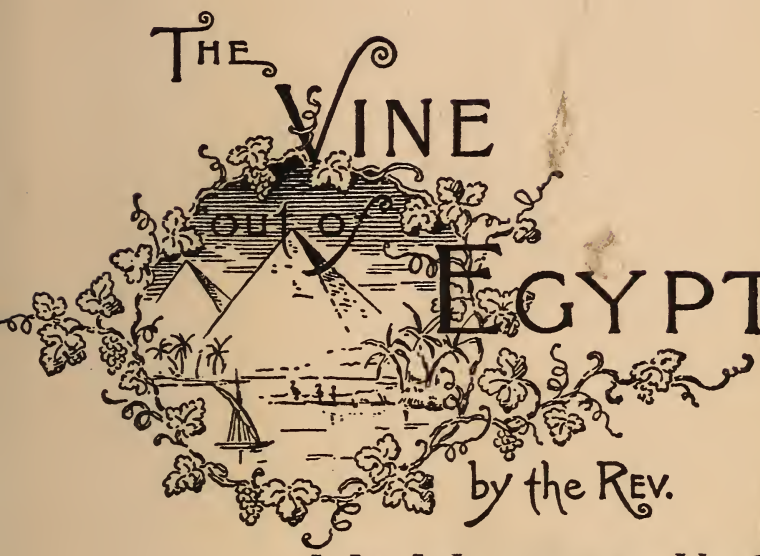

by the Rev.

WM. WILBERFORCE NEWTON

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THE

VINE OUT OF EGYPT

OR

The Growth and Development of the American Episcopal Church

WITH

SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CHURCH LIFE OF THE FUTURE

BY

WM. WILBERFORCE NEWTON

AUTHOR OF "ESSAYS OF TO-DAY," "PRIEST AND MAN," "SUMMER SERMONS," ETC.

"Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt: Thou madest room for it; and when it had taken root, it filled the land." — Ps. lxxx. 8, 9.

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To the Memory of

MY FATHER AND MY MOTHER,

WHO, ENTERING TOGETHER INTO THE REST OF PARADISE,
HAVE LEFT TO THEIR CHILDREN THE PRICELESS
RECORD OF THEIR LIFE OF FAITH,

This Book is Reverently Dedicated,

IN THE HOPE THAT THEY WHO ARE NOW OUR CHILDREN
MAY ONE DAY RISE UP IN LIKE MANNER TO CALL
US BLESSED, AS THEY WALK IN THE OLD
PATHS IN WHICH OUR FATHERS TROD.

"Ye who have gained at length your palms in bliss,
Victorious ones, your chant shall still be this, —
An endless Alleluia!"

PREFACE.

It is given to the men of each generation to make some special contribution to the problems which confront them, and having done their share, to round the curve in the journey of life, leaving their work behind.

The following papers are the honest effort of one, who, believing in the unity of spirit in the bond of peace, has tried to show the wealth of heritage bestowed upon the Church by our fathers, in the hope that it may give us, at a moment when the American nation needs an American Church, largeness of heart and a generous chivalry towards our brethren of other folds who kneel in loyal homage to our common Lord and Master, — the divinely human Christ.

Pittsfield, Mass.
Feast of the Transfiguration,
Aug. 6, 1887.

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CHAPTER I.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL DEVELOPMENT.

I. THE MISSION AND MEANING OF THE EVANGELICAL PARTY.

I WISH to speak in this book of the growth and development of the Episcopal Church in America, with special reference to the subject of the Church-life of the future.

To those who have believed in God's care over the Church of yesterday, and who, in recognizing His hand in the inspiration of human character to-day, believe in the Church that is to be, this series of studies, as an offering towards peace in truth and righteousness, is dedicated.

To get a careful hearing is all that I hope for in this work. There are times when peace comes only through the sword-thrusts of opposition, and

when the fittest survives over the body of the slain. If what is said is unworthy of survival, may it perish quickly; but if there is reason in it, and if it is the echo of forgotten voices, may it have a hearing for the sake of those who, in the spirit of prophecy, foresaw this surely coming day.

The problem before our composite Church-life to-day, is the problem of making useful and full of power the rich inheritance of knowledge and experience bequeathed to us by our forefathers. We live in a dear old homestead, which has been full of life and activity, and is to-day filled with many memories. Brothers and sisters have been reared in it, and have gone forth to make varying alliances, and to accomplish many widespread and opposite results in the outer world.

Back from the world's ever-widening broadway it stands; yet its ancient gateway leads directly to the highway of modern thought and life. It speaks to us by its antique structure of by-gone methods of architecture; yet where can we find such solid comfort in any of the new-fashioned homes of to-day? It speaks by its whole air of yesterday of the wisdom and experience of the past; but the inmates of the old homestead are

young and active children of the present. The belongings of bygone relatives are found here, — the silver, the furniture, the pictures, and the draperies of the generations that have lived in it, — but the methods of the present householders are the methods of to-day. In other words, this Church of ours in this new land of ours has inherited the wisdom and experience of those who helped to make it what it is, and who builded better than they knew. Call it not a family quarrel, this strife of bygone ancestors. It was never this, though in days gone by it may have looked like it. While other forms of faith are perishing at the first hard conflict of bygone methods with newfound experiences, we are living unharmed and unscathed, because our fathers struggled to have in our homestead, room enough for a very large family of very active children.

In this first chapter on "The Ecclesiastical Development of the Episcopal Church," I propose to speak of three aspects of the marked growth of this Church. I shall divide the subject into three parts: —

1. The meaning and mission of the Evangelical party.

II. The value and power of the High Church position.

III. The work and influence of the Broad Church school.

Before considering these, let me make emphatic the words here chosen. The first division of the Church is described as a "party." The second division is defined as a "position." The third division is named as an "influence."

The meaning and mission of the old Evangelical party is found in the twofold fact, first, that it defended liberty of prophesying, or the principle of voluntariness in worship and in giving; and, second, that it stood for the constitutional conception of the Episcopate, or the supremacy of canonical over personal authority. These were two great gifts wrung out of a long struggle and a stiff conscience. We are the children of these men who fought for principle, and have given us the heritage, which they won at the point of the sword. The strife is over now, and the smoke has cleared away. In a household of faith which is at unity with itself, we can afford to look at these bygone days in the calm attitude of a peace which has been won.

These "Evangelicals," or low churchmen, were the direct descendants of the English school of Cecil and Simeon and Romaine. Their great names on the other side of the water were Venn and Bickersteth, Leigh Richmond, Wilberforce, and John Newton. They brought into the cold and dead English Church the spiritual illumination of Wesley and Whitefield and the Methodist awakening.

Among the lectures named in the will of William Price, the founder of "The Price Lectures" in Trinity Church, Boston, is one against enthusiasm, by which, curiously enough, was meant this same spirit of individual conviction or personal zeal in the Christian life.

These Evangelicals, or low churchmen, were scattered through the country. They were strong in Philadelphia and in the Middle States. They were a power in Virginia and South Carolina, where their theology took a strong Calvinistic turn, which reconciled them to slavery as one of the divine decrees, and there was a scattering of them in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Their great names are a tower of spiritual strength to-day, and are a pride and glory to the Church in any age. Dr. John A. Stone, Dr. Dyer, Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, Dr. Milnor, Bishop Griswold, Dr. An-

drews of Virginia, John A. Clark, William Ridgeley, the brilliant pamphleteer and editor, Bishop Chase with his Kenyon College scheme, Bishop McIlvaine with his "Oxford Divinity" and his warm welcome upon English shores, Bishop Eastburn with his uncompromising hostility to sacramental error of doctrine, Rev. Charles D. Cooper with his evangelical fervor, Bishop Lee, our late presiding bishop, and one just taken from his loved circle, whose vigor of faith is living over again in the lives of unnumbered little ones to whom he had in his later years ministered, together with Hoffman the missionary, and Parvin and Rising, the heads of the two great institutions of this phase of the Church's life, are a legacy of power, which is a gift to any church. And with these honored names comes the memory of one who threw the broad shield of his massive greatness over this development of the Church's life, whose intellectual breadth was subordinated to his spiritual convictions, and who covered the retreat of the Evangelicals after the Cummins movement, — Alexander Hamilton Vinton. The intensity of feeling in the days which came after Tract No. 90 had been published at Oxford it is difficult at present to imagine or describe.

As a child I can remember the ministers' gatherings at the dear old Front-street residence of the then rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia. These men came from Delaware and New Jersey and from the interior of Pennsylvania. They came by stage and by steamboat and by rail, and they had many hours together of earnest prayer and discussion. There were petitions and declarations and appeals and manifestoes in abundance.

"The Episcopal Recorder" and "The Banner of the Cross" waged a bitter and unrelenting war of extreme partisanship. As an illustration of this widespread feeling of party spirit let me quote an incident which occurred at the election of Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., in the year 1845. The Convention was held in St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. Ballot after ballot was cast with no result. Rev. Dr. Tyng, then rector of the Church of the Epiphany, missed the election at every ballot by a few scattering votes. After he had arisen and withdrawn his name, Dr. Potter of Union College, Schenectady, was nominated. As the ballots were counted out in open session, the entire congregation could keep the score by marking with a pencil the votes for the different candidates. When at last the critical figure was reached and

passed on the long column of votes, and Dr. Potter had received the majority and was elected, an old colored woman in the gallery reached forward, and, clapping her hands, exclaimed, "He's got it! He's got it! Bress de Lord. Now we'll have no more Pussem—is—im." But this election of Dr. Potter in Philadelphia was a greater triumph for the best interests of the Church at large than the Evangelicals of that day could admit, suffering as they were under their defeat with Dr. Tyng.

It was the beginning of a new conception of the duties and responsibilities of the Episcopate, and in so far was the realization, in part, of that for which the Evangelical party had been striving.

It would seem, at first sight, as if it were a foregone conclusion that if any thing remained after the Evangelical party had done its work, it would be its radical, and yet, in a certain sense, its strong, theology. This theology was the old Augustinian theology, which had survived the period of the Reformation, and had taken a new and practical turn during the great awakening of Methodism. Perhaps in no single ministry was this peculiar theology so strongly marked by the opposition which was vouchsafed to it, and the antagonistic influence which it exerted, as in the

ministry of Bishop Eastburn, in Massachusetts. His Boston hearers and Beacon-street parishioners strongly objected to the uniform phraseology of Trinity-church pulpit, in which they were constantly addressed as worms, vile sinners, and children of wrath. The conventional "miserable sinners" of the Litany was one thing to these Boston church-goers; the copious repertoire of Evangelical phrases from the pulpit, in which these worshippers were classed with convicts, was quite another thing. It was this feature of malassimilation with the New-England mind in Bishop Eastburn's character and career, which Dr. Vinton analyzed in his celebrated funeral sermon upon the second Bishop of Massachusetts. This lack of adaptability of the vital principle of Christianity to the conditions and wants of a changing age, as seen in such an experience as that of Bishop Eastburn's, would form a strong answer to the position which John Foster has taken in his once famous essay on "The Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion." But it was in the essential nature of things that there should be an inherent and necessary protest in the fresh hearts of a new generation against the fundamental principles of the Evangelical theology. It was not its profound

views of human sin, or of the necessity of a Saviour, or of the unalterable distinction between right and wrong, which brought to bear upon the standards and system of the Evangelicals the opposition of the generation which came after them. It was something quite distinct from this merely theological structure of their creed, which caused the children to avoid the theology of their fathers, and develop a new one, fitted to the wants of their special age. The secret of the fall of this school of thought was found rather in the fact that the practical, systematic, almost commercial, view of theology which was preached, was found to be inadequate to the wants of the human heart, and was not deep and profound enough in its grasp of thought for the intricate recesses of human life and character. The "simple gospel," the "clear views," justification by faith, the commercial conception of the covenant, of the blood of reconciliation, of the Anselmic atonement, of the Calvinistic election, and of a stronger than Tridentine theory of future punishment, hell and retribution, stronger than the statement of Trent, because the Council of Trent furnished a convenient outlet in the doctrine of purgatory, while any escape from perdition was to the Evangelicals unknown,

were doctrines which could not last beyond the strength of the individual convictions which maintained them. This structure of thought was the fashion of the religious mind of that day; but this theological mould could not produce the form of thought for the age which was to come after it. The key-note to all this radical theology of the Evangelical party was found in the word "satisfaction." The divine nature was satisfied by the Atonement of Christ. This was enough; more than this could not be desired or expected. Human nature, therefore, ought to be satisfied with this simple gospel, since the divine nature was satisfied with this its own foreordained plan and decree.

An infant-school teacher in one of these churches, rejoiced in the fact that her scholars, all under six years of age, could separately and individually state clearly and explicitly, in theological terms, the entire plan of salvation. This central thought of satisfaction showed itself in many curious ways. It raised party zeal to the high pitch of religious fanaticism. Not to vote with this party in any councils or conventions of the Church, was of the nature of a moral wrong, for Sacramentalism was always deadly error, and Evangelicalism always stood for clear views of truth. It showed itself in

a strange and subtle way in the architecture of this phase of the Church's life. With the rise and progress of the Evangelical party there appeared a strange renaissance of pagan temples. The Parthenon at Athens, the temples of Jupiter and Bacchus and Apollo, appeared in brick and plaster, with sanded columns of the Ionic, Doric, and Corinthian orders. Carved Bacchantes formed the communion-rail of a certain church in Philadelphia built on the heathen model of a temple of Bacchus, with imitation iron wine-butts for the gas chandeliers. It is difficult to find the connecting-link between this revival of pagan architecture and the rise of the Evangelical school of thought and life. But Robertson, in his striking essay on Wordsworth, throws no little light upon this curious conjunction. The Grecian temple, he says, always stood, with its straight lines, rectangular form, and square, flat roof, for the thought of pagan satisfaction. The Gothic building, with its tapering tower, and its vaulted arches reaching into the dim roof, stood for the thought of Christian aspiration. The pagan temple of the Greeks meant completion, satisfaction, and definiteness of creed. The pointed arch of the Gothic architecture, with its tapering finger reaching up amid the clouds,

meant mystery, aspiration, and devout meditation. Curiously enough, this position was realized in the architectural expression of these two schools of thought in the Church. While the Evangelicals were seeking to make their church-buildings give expression to the thought of theological satisfaction, their High-church, or Anglican, brethren were turning every thing they could lay their hands upon into the mould of the Gothic arch and the Norman tower. But let us return to the direct subject before us.

I have said that the men who were the leaders of the Evangelical school of thought, stood for two practical principles in our common Church-life, after they had made their party witness to what they called the simple gospel. They did not hand down as their heritage to the Church which was to come after them, the direct gift of their systematic theology, or their so-called simple gospel. They left us, instead of this, two distinct but indirect gifts as the result of their struggles and experience.

The first of these gifts was liberty of prophesying, or the principle of voluntariness in worship. Perhaps we do not realize now the deep philosophy which was underlying this plea of the Evangelical, for the liberty of extemporaneousness in worship.

It was the stifled cry of the mystic, which went up from the soul to God, outside the channel of priest or Prayer Book, or sacrament. The Church has never lacked its mystics, and the mystics have never failed to bring a blessing to the Church in every age. These men were the mystics of our Church, and a deep and irrepressible conviction nerved their spirits to be valiant for the truth in their day and generation. They had meetings in "groves." They had associations or revivals of religion, which were to them, what their missions are to the ritualists of to-day. They had afternoon prayer-meetings in their churches, where robes were not allowed to be worn, but into which, at the same time, no mere Gallio-kind-of-seedling-young-broad-churchmen were admitted, who came with secular black cravats, instead of the regulation white tie. They believed that they had a right at times to use extemporaneous prayers. They believed they had the right to give their money where they chose, and not through the agency which boards or bishops decreed should be the only channel. Under this conviction there sprang into life those three great institutions which attracted to themselves the generous gifts of many rich and influential laymen, — "The Evangelical

Knowledge Society," "The American Church Missionary Society," and "The Evangelical Education Society."

The right of extemporaneous prayer, which our ritualistic brethren to-day rejoice in, was won for them by the efforts of their brethren on the left wing of the Church's life. Bishop Doane of New Jersey, in his home at Burlington, forbade these meetings in the grove, and issued a pamphlet against such free gatherings. To this the Rev. Simeon Wilmer replied vigorously in another pamphlet. The Rev. Benjamin Allen, then rector of St. Paul's, Philadelphia, declared, like his illustrious namesake at Ticonderoga, that "in the name of the great Jehovah" they would stand upon the rightfulness of the liberty of prophesying, until they stood before the judgment bar of God. And thus it came to pass that out of this principle of liberty of prophesying, there grew the other principle for which these men contended; viz., the constitutional conception of the Episcopate, or the supremacy of canonical over personal authority. These men did not dislike the word "Bishop," but they objected strongly to the word "Prelate." When they thought of a bishop, they thought of Cranmer; when they thought of a

prelate, their minds reverted to Laud. This distinction culminated in that saddest of all episodes, the famous Cheney trial in Chicago, where the outlawed presbyter stood for the old spirit of the Puritan commonwealth, and where the temper of the bishop was the Laudean spirit reproduced in history. But the prelatical view of the Episcopate experienced a rude shock in the trials of the bishops of that period, no less than four bishops suffering at the hands of their canonical authorities. From this cyclone of judicial wrath, Prelacy in the American Church has never recovered. With the election of Dr. Alonzo Potter, however, was ushered in the era of the constitutional Episcopate. Prelacy has virtually disappeared, and these resolute, indomitable Evangelicals helped more than any other set of men to bring about this great result. They answered back with fire and with conviction whenever a bishop, or a board, or a machine in Church politics tried to suppress them with a mere *ipse dixit*. They would obey canonical authority, not mere personal opinion shaped in the official setting of authority. They would obey the law of the Church, but it must be clearly marked as canon law; it must not be mere prerogative or tradition. And surely this was a great gift to the

Church, — a gift which has shown itself in the rising power and influence of our later House of Bishops. It is Moberly, in his Bampton Lectures of 1868 on "The Administration of the Spirit," who uses these words: "The practice of the Episcopal Church in the United States, and now happily introduced in some of our own colonial dioceses, in respect of the election of bishops, seems to approach more nearly than that of any other portion of the Catholic Church to the primitive model described by Cyprian."[1] To the Evangelicals belongs the praise of insisting upon the election of men of power, of conscience, and of constitutional fitness. They stood out for a great principle against all mere time-serving policy. They carried their conscience into the matter of Episcopal elections, and in this way they rescued the Church from ecclesiastical tradition and mere official institutionalism. Their faith stood to them for every thing; and they carried that faith with them to the highest tribunal of the Church.

I have by my side, as I write, a leaflet entitled "Is the Child Dead?" It was written by the Rev. G. W. Ridgeley not long before his death, and is the last of his long line of brilliant edi-

[1] The Administration of the Spirit, note H. H. H., p. 204.

torials and pamphlets. It begins as follows: "It is reported on Episcopal authority, almost equal to that of the Vatican, that a little pet of mine called 'Evangelical' is dead — dead — dead. I weep as I write. Pardon the perturbations of grief. I hope there is some mistake about the matter, and that he has merely strayed away for a time. I am very fond of the little fellow, and pray you to aid me in securing all possible information concerning him." It is pathetic to see an old man like this in search of a lost child. It makes us think of old Peggotty going in search of his stolen ward. But the child is not dead. It is the Spiritual Father of the manhood of the Church of to-day. It is true the child can no longer be found; but the child's children rise up to call the Parent blessed. In Dr. Mulford's interesting book, "The Nation," there are two striking chapters which have an application here. In one of these he describes the nation as the antagonist of the Confederacy. In the other, he describes it as the antagonist of the Empire. This Episcopal Church of ours to-day is the direct antagonist of the sect idea, of the mere confederate conception of the Church, and it is at the same time the antagonist of the autocracy

idea, or the empireship of prelatical Rome. But it has come through a great struggle to secure this toleration, and can cry with the soul which Dante saw in Paradise, —

"I came from martyrdom unto this Peace."

This old Evangelical party has had a meaning, and has done a mission. It stood for a bold and simple conception of the Christian faith, and was ready to die for its faith like any of the martyrs. And though the theology it fought for has changed its form of expression, in a new and unforeseen age, the two great results of the struggle of these men of faith remain to us as a precious heritage. And these are, liberty of prophesying, or the voluntary principle in worship and in giving; and the constitutional conception of the Episcopate, or the supremacy of canonical over personal authority.

II. THE VALUE AND POWER OF THE HIGH CHURCH POSITION.

Value and power are terms of political economy. It is with something of this same utilitarian sense, that I find myself using these words, as the fittest explanation which comes to hand,

whereby to translate into simple language the results of the teaching and influence of the High Church party. The earlier Evangelicals confidently supposed that it would be their clear views of simple truth which would remain as the work of their life-long protest. But the theology of the Evangelicals has passed away, and that which remains as the result of their work, is the twofold gift of liberty of prophesying and the constitutional conception of the Episcopate. The earlier high churchmen, in the same way, supposed that it would be their testimony to Church order and the efficacy of sacramental grace, which would remain after they themselves had passed away. But, curiously enough, the gift of these zealous churchmen to the churchmanship of to-day, comes to us as a heritage of method, rather than a heritage of creed. The element which survives the death of these workmen is not so much a sacramental theology as it is an ecclesiastical polity. This subtle experience of the happening of "the unexpected," is the truthfulness of the principle contained in Robertson's remarkable sermon about the illusiveness of life. The high principles which we defend, and the high ideals we strive for, are illusive, not delusive. We strive for

something, and get, not the thing we strive for, but a reality which is better, after all, than the object of our search; just as children romp and frolic on the playground, and secure, not the game won every time, but health and strength obtained by the exercise, which is Nature's illusive way of developing their powers. In the same way the zealous high churchmen strove to make the Church inherit their stalwart views of sacramental grace. That which we find they really did bequeath to the Church, as the result of their teaching and experience, was not a body of theology, but an ecclesiastical polity. They left to the Church of the present, as the result of their labors, two great gifts. And these gifts are (1) the value of ecclesiastical over theological uniformity; and (2) the objective sacraments, rather than the subjective emotions, as the standard of the Church's life.

So, then, we can rightfully name the legacy of this strong school of Church life and thought "the value and power of the High Church position." It was a *position* which these men took; and this position had a *value*, and is to-day a *power*. It is Lucock, in his studies of the Prayer Book, who takes the ground that the Church has grown from

the moment it took a positive position and vigorously asserted itself. There were bishops in the American Church who were pious, pure-minded, respectable gentlemen, hard-headed Tories, and moderate churchmen. But there was no one who advanced the Church-idea with such relentless persistence, as that defender of the faith, and advocate of Church doctrine, order, and discipline, in whom centred the glory of the High Church party — Bishop John Henry Hobart of New York. There is a time to push principles, and a time to wait and let them quietly develop by their own inherent powers. Bishop Hobart was born at a period when the Church needed a vigorous advocate to secure for it a retaining-point among the flowering and blossoming religious faiths of the day. He did his aggressive work in a manner worthy of the zeal of the Jesuits in North America, whom our historian, Parkman, has so graphically described. He was no mere ecclesiastical functionary. He was a great and living power. There were bishops around him who were men of ease and culture, who took life easily. The painful controversy with Bishop Provoost, in which the young bishop was supported by his diocesan convention, shows the opposition which any

new departure in Church-life was sure at that day to engender. But Bishop Hobart went, like Bernard of old, preaching his crusade; and the clergy and laity of his diocese caught his spirit, and followed in the same aggressive trail. Bible societies, tract societies, union movements, charities, philanthropies, and all that class of work, were with him secondary to the great task of preaching the divine mission of the Church, which, by a variety of metaphors, met a variety of human wants. At one moment it was the ark of safety; at another moment it was the pillar and ground of the faith. But it was always the one thing which the crude and ill-compacted country needed, — the one thing which, by a divine commission, was laid upon its ministers to propagate. Bishop Wilberforce, in his history of the Church in America, thus emphasizes the work and influence of this representative bishop: "Hobart was a man who, at any time, would have left on his communion an impress of his own character. In the unformed state of institutions and opinions in that land, it could not fail of being deeply and broadly marked. . . . It is clear that he was raised up to do a special work, to consolidate and bind together the loose and crumbling mass, to raise the general tone,

to animate their zeal, to save them from the fatal apathy into which they were subsiding." [1]

A reviewer of Mozley's reminiscences in "The Nation" of Oct. 12, 1882, speaks as follows of the conjunction of the hour and the man in the Oxford movement of Newman's. The time had come to advance a certain view of Church-life; and by a law which we see continually at work around us, the hour and the man came together.

"A Church like the Anglican communion, based on endless compromises between Catholicism and Protestantism, — compromises which are the result neither of logic nor of religious conviction, but of historical and political considerations, — is specially liable to become the field for the unexpected production of religious developments. An impressive preacher or thinker pushes to its logical conclusion one side of the Church's multifarious and not over-consistent doctrines. He means simply to give effect to the Church's true teaching. He, and still more his disciples, become, without meaning it, ecclesiastical revolutionists. Whitgift and Laud, Wesley, Simeon, Newman, and Arnold each and all believed themselves to

[1] History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, by Bishop Samuel Wilberforce. London Edition, 1856; pp. 298-306.

be expounders of the doctrines of the Church of England. They each, as far as their influence extended, disturbed the practical compromise, which, if not exactly the Church's true doctrine, is its true reason for existence. If there were to be a High Church revival, any one who knows England may confidently assert that Oxford was, in 1832, its appropriate home. The truth is, that the English universities, and especially Oxford, are, whatever their defects or merits, created, so to speak, to be the centre of movements. There are at the universities collected, teachers and thinkers who, despite the popular prejudice against dons or professors, are constantly men of great talent, of impressive character, and of that kind of disinterestedness which, even more than cleverness or energy, enlists the enthusiasm of youth. To any one who has realized how large is the amount of intellect, of learning, and even of originality which lies hid in the English universities, the true difficulty is to account, not for the extent of the influence exerted by Oxford or Cambridge, but for that influence not having become as marked, at least, as the weight exercised in modern Germany, by the political and theological teaching of professors. For not only have there never —

certainly for the last fifty years, and probably for a much longer period — been lacking at Oxford teachers pre-eminently fitted to impress their hearers, but the college system, with its curious combination of freedom with discipline, of intimate association with individual independence, brings young men together in such a manner as to render them specially sensitive to the authority of teachers who are, for the most part, still young enough not to be separated, by great difference of age, from the sympathies of their pupils. A sincere and enthusiastic believer in Mormonism — could such a person become the leading tutor, say of New College, of Oriel, or of Balliol — would, we are well assured, soon organize a Mormon movement, and alarm respectable society by inducing hundreds of young men to set sail for Utah. Early Evangelicalism had no such attraction for the clergy. The converted layman stood in the same position as the converted priest; or, rather, the priest was not priest at all, but, on the Evangelical view, a preacher of truth; and, as such, on the same footing as a dissenting minister who preached the same doctrine. The liberal teaching of the Broad Church may, to a certain extent, lighten the burden of clerical subscription.

It may teach clergymen that they have a moral and religious advantage in belonging to a State Church, but it does not tend to raise the dignity or the influence of the clerical order. High Church doctrine, on the other hand, whatever its worth, both increases the dignity of the clergy, and, in the mouth at any rate of teachers like Newman and Pusey, invites clergymen to play a prominent part in the moral, the religious, and even the political life of England. 'Has not the Church,' said Sterling, 'in every parish its black dragoon?' There is no need to adopt the description suggested by the intemperate eloquence of the youthful orator, who was haranguing a debating society of youths; but persons who know that the 'black dragoon' is generally an excellent gentleman, engaged in the earnest discharge of hard and ill-paid duties, may nevertheless admit that Sterling laid his finger on a most important fact. In every parish there is a man who must, from the nature of things, be apt to adopt High Church doctrine. We may fairly say that in half the parishes of England, the Tractarians found ready-made missionaries. The instruments for affecting public opinion, lay ready to the hands of the Puseyite leaders. They used these instruments (and no

blame to them for it) with the energy of men filled with confidence in themselves and in their cause. No one can wonder that the movement spread, during its earlier years, with astounding rapidity."

The same may be said of the diocese of New York, at the time when Bishop Hobart was its head (1811 to 1830). The place, the hour, and the man joined hands in a concerted movement. The time had come to push "Church-positions;" and these principles were advanced with the energy of an attacking party in the field of battle. Charles Kingsley says, in one of his letters, "No human power ever beat back a resolute, forlorn hope. To be got rid of, they must be blown back with grape and canister, because the attacking party have all the universe behind them; the defence, only that small part which is shut up in walls."

To Bishop Hobart belongs the honor of leading the Church out of its mere routine barrack life, and of making a charge upon a credulous and unbelieving land. There were many others with him who shared in this movement. But Bishop Hobart was *facile princeps* in this advance which began to make the despised Episcopal Church a national

Church, and no longer a mere social transplant from the aristocratic life of England. These high churchmen who preached sacramental grace, and baptismal regeneration, and apostolical succession, were quite as marked by their convictions as their rival Evangelical brethren. They fasted heavily in Lent. They dressed with long black coats buttoning up to the chin. They abhorred Evangelicalism, and knew nothing as yet of Ritualism. The cut of their clothes, and their surplices, was according to an ecclesiological pattern, which had been evolved out of logical syllogisms, not out of esthetic principles. Their churches all budded into Gothic angles and arches; as, by the same law of architectural expression, we have seen that the churches of the Evangelicals took on the lines and form of pagan temples. The Gothic arch meant aspiration; the rectangular temple meant satisfaction. Their walk in the street was angular and platoon-like. They sank their individualism in the Church's institutionalism, and grew in some strange way to look alike. Carlyle's philosophy of clothes in his "Sartor Resartus" applied to them. One could generalize from their outward covering what their internal, mental structure would be. Their dress became an out-

ward expression of an inward set of reticulated convictions. They said "*Ah*-men" and never "Amen," and always sang a certain set of churchly hymns and Gregorian tunes. They, and their clothes have mostly passed away now, or have emerged through a state of chrysalis into variegated Ritualists; as the followers of the Evangelicals, by the same mysterious process, have mounted on the restless wing of the Liberal, after the manner of the fully-developed dragon-fly. But they have done their work, — a great work and a necessary work, — and they, too, have left us a valued heritage.

An English review thus emphasizes the good work done by this school of Church-life in England: "Everybody now acknowledges heartily and gratefully how much good the High Church movement has, in some directions, wrought; how much more decorous are the services of the Episcopal Church; how much better the music; how much better the edifices; how many zealous clergymen of this school are laboring among the poor in our great cities, spending themselves with a self-sacrifice undreamed of fifty years ago. The English have, more than most nations, a disposition to acquiesce in accomplished facts, and to believe that when

any doctrine or school has established itself, it must have had a solid *raison d'être*, and ought not to be interfered with. Hence the change of tone towards the Ritualists, the disposition to tolerate even the disobedience to constituted authority which some of them practice. It would be impossible now to pass the Public Worship Regulation Act which was passed in 1874; and the sympathy felt for Mr. Green, the clergyman who has been committed to prison for refusing to obey the court, which directed him to discontinue certain practices in public worship to which he was conscientiously attached, is by no means confined to those extreme Ritualists who share his opinions. Thus it has happened that Dr. Pusey, from being the suspected and hated leader of a new party, has become accepted as an ornament of the whole Church of England, whose piety may be celebrated without any expression of sympathy for his doctrines." ("The Nation," Nov. 23, 1882.)

But that which remains after these workers have passed away is not the direct object for which they contended, but an indirect legacy of experience. The work of these men has indicated the power of the position which they took in advocating their favorite theories. The first gift they have uncon-

sciously bestowed upon the Church which has come after them, is the realization, which the men of to-day see enforced upon all sides, of the value of ecclesiastical over theological uniformity. The polity of Presbyterianism seems cumbrous by the side of the successful working of a common-sense Episcopacy. It would be hard work to fight a campaign by a Presbytery of generals. Cromwell tried it, and finding it would not do, struck out at once into independency. To-day the burdensome polity and the enforced dogmatic teaching of the Presbyterian Church, alike warn the leaders of that great organization, that they must throw aside some of their outworn dogmas, the mere *impedimenta* of their forefathers' campaigns, or must lag behind in the march of the present, with its demand for vital truth alone! The cumbrous system of representation in the Presbytery, the load of dogma carried down from generation to generation, the practical impossibility of teaching the Westminster Catechism to the children of the present, show us how much wiser it is for a Church to unite upon a practical working-system, than upon the enforced interpretation of a theological statement.

The struggle at present going on between the liberal and conservative wings of Congregation-

alism, with an "Andover Review" upon one side, and a Tremont-temple lectureship upon the other, is another illustration of the weakness of theological uniformity, considered as a basis of Church-work, compared with the easier method of ecclesiastical conformity.

It is brought home to our minds at every turn in the religious life of this land at present, that it is much easier and more practical for men of divergent theological temperament, to unite upon a method of Church-organization, rather than upon a definite creed carefully syncopated and analyzed.

When our Congregational brethren come together for any new movement, they first of all lay down the planks of their accepted creed. Some are old and some are new. Some planks are too short, and must be pieced; others are too long, and must necessarily be sawed off; and altogether it is a difficult matter to make a satisfactory piece of work out of the proposed platform.

When our Episcopal brethren come together, on the other hand, they can hold any interpretation of Christian doctrine, which can be squared within the compass of the apostles' creed; and, without any suggestion whatsoever of theological uniformity, they fall to the practical work before

them with alacrity, and with no waste of time in discussing theology, and are united by a collect, or a rubric, or a bishop, if only one of these three requisites can be found. A policy is much better to unite upon for practical work than a creed; and it is the discovery of this fact which is of value to us. It is the position of the Episcopal Church in this matter which makes it a power.

So that, by our practical experience, it appears plain, after very little effort at attempting to demonstrate it, that the first gift bequeathed to the Church by the High Church school of thought, is the conscious realization of the value of ecclesiastical over theological uniformity.

But there was yet another gift left to the Church, by these zealous high churchmen. It was the realization, after a long and hard-won experience, that the objective sacraments, rather than the subjective emotions, form the true standard of the Church's life.

We are always seeking for a standard of action, whatever our occupation in life may be. A book by Piazzi Smith, has been lately written to prove that the pyramids were built to be the accepted standard of trigonometry in the civilization of the Pharaohs.

Lieut. Weyprecht, the German explorer, was the originator of the circumpolar stations of investigation in the arctic circle; to represent which, on the part of America, Lieut. Greely went on his perilous journey northward.

This system of circumpolar stations was the attempt, by the scientific method, to have a definite standard of observations from a well-defined and concurrent series of investigating stations, so that the work of exploring the hidden north pole could go on from a systematic line of approach. And, in the religious life of the Church, we must have something which can be used as the common standard, recognized alike by all, and of certain and undisputed value. We may take the Bible; but the Bible is read to-day with varying interpretations, and with different theories of the quality of its inspiration. We may use the pulpit as our standard; but with us no two pulpits are ever found to speak alike. We may take the prayer-meeting as the standard of religious life; but a prayer-meeting can become as formal as the Roman mass, and the experiences given forth there may be utterly hollow and unreal.

But our Lord established two sacraments. One is the sacrament of admission into the Church, and

has for its symbol of purity the element of water; the other is the sacrament of continuance in the faith, and has for its symbol the elements of physical nutrition.

What can be better than the symbols which our Lord himself established? Why not gather around these when Christians come together?

Children gather around the schoolhouse when the bell rings; travellers cluster around the gate when the hour comes, and, looking at the clock, pass through the gateway to take the waiting train. Soldiers salute their flag in the days of peace, and broken regiments rally round it on the hard-fought field. Error may creep in; superstition, through the human passion for idolatry, may change the sacrament into a mass.

But the trouble is in the weakness of human nature; it is not in the sacraments which our Lord himself ordained.

The sacraments are fixed and abiding: human feelings are uncertain and variable. The definite fact of the sacrament remains: the indefinite emotions of the individual suffer a change.

There was very deep wisdom, based upon a profound view of human nature's wants, which urged the high churchman to stand by the font and the

altar until the Church, rising above any mere party narrowness, should come round to this position, and in its wise and generous comprehension exclaim, "Wait, O my soul, upon the Lord!"

By this citadel of truth, this school of thought stood firmly. And to-day the Church at large, is reaping the fruit of this wise decision of these stalwart churchmen, — that the objective sacraments form a better standard for the Church's life than the subjective emotions.

The value of ecclesiastical over theological uniformity, and the objective sacraments rather than the subjective emotions, as the standard of the Church's life, is the twofold gift to us of the High Church school of thought.

We forget to-day the peculiar phraseology and the shibboleths of these brave workers and defenders of the past. They stood by their convictions, and left us a blessing which is making itself manifest in our Church's life to-day.

Of these, too, it stands written, "These all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promises: God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect."

III. THE WORK AND INFLUENCE OF THE BROAD CHURCH SCHOOL.

In his essay upon "The Church as a Teacher of Morality," the author of "Ecce Homo," Professor Seeley of Cambridge, England, uses these words: —

"Upon the question whether the Christian community is regarded by its teachers as one and homogeneous, or as divided between a small number of believers, — the children of light, — and a large number of merely nominal believers, — the disguised children of darkness, — depends, more than is commonly perceived, the whole character of Christian teaching. Those teachers who take the latter view will practically abandon all moral questions; those who take the former, will occupy themselves as much with morality as with religion.

"That the High Church party, who have generally shrunk much more than the Evangelicals from drawing the perilous line of demarcation, have, nevertheless, not occupied themselves much more with moral questions is due to such a counteracting influence. They have been, for the most part, conservatives, attached by temper and tradition to the existing order of things, both political and

social. They have been disposed to regard all moral questions as settled already; and when they have possessed activity of mind, they have exerted it, not so much in speculative investigation of what ought to be held, as in antiquarian inquiries into what has been held.

"A new school of Christian teachers has sprung up of late years, which neither divides the congregation nor defers to tradition. The Broad Church party, like the High Church party, or, still more, like the Catholic Church, aspires to guide, not a small collection out of the community, but the community itself. It has none of the old pietistic shyness, none of that shrinking from the affairs of the world and society, which is so visible in all sectarian Christianity, and which sometimes assumes the form of an intense nervous antipathy to human beings. It admires the Mediæval Church and Cromwell; it sympathizes with all the attempts which Christianity has made to influence secular government, and to impose its law upon whole communities. But it is unlike the modern Catholic Church, or the old High Church party of England, in not being conservative. By being intensely conservative at a time when society moves with a speed like that of the planet itself through space, the ecclesi-

astical systems that aspire to government become more hateful to the world, than the inoffensive pietistic societies which pretend to nothing of the kind. But the Broad Church party is thoroughly liberal; it hates obstruction, finality, and every sort of unnatural constraint. It hates, in an especial manner, what may be called Ecclesiasticism. So that the clergy of this school are, in a manner, at war with their own order, deplore constantly the weakness and mistakes of 'divines,' and in all disputes appeal to the judgment of the laity. It repudiates the principle of authority in the investigation of truth, and if it abides by some ancient beliefs, and would retain them as the basis of modern order, does so on the ground that they are true, and that they are the best and strongest foundation upon which modern order can be based.

"Before this party, then, there evidently lies a task to which the older parties were not equal. No conservative prejudices, no theological despair need hinder them from giving the people a Christian morality suited to the age."

I have quoted this passage in its completeness, because it contains, in choice and fitting language, the essence of the subject at present before us. The present and the future belong, in a great

degree, to this school of Church thought and life; for it is this school of thought which keeps time to the inspiration of present-day forces, and strives, above all else, to walk reasonably before the Lord in the mixed land of present-day Christianity, which is too often only a civilized heathenism. Two distinct prejudices have stood hitherto in the way of this school of thought; but these are fast disappearing before the better knowledge of the work and influence of this latest phase of Christian thought.

The first of these objections is the fact of its near relationship to German rationalism. The second is its appeal to the cultured class alone; or, as it has been expressed, "its salvation by scholarship only."

But the one element which gives to the broad churchmanship of to-day its commanding power, is the latent, but clearly recognized, fact, that to it belongs the championship of the age against the autocratic power of the Church of Rome. "Protestanism has had its fight with Rome, and Rome still survives. There are those who, seeing this fact, declare that Protestantism is a failure, and to its boasted methods and hard-worn weapons the Church will never again return. The Broad

Church school of thought — with its method of induction, and its scientific habit of mind — champions the old foe on an entirely new field. It yields what dogmatic Protestantism once thought infallible truth, and defies the authority of Rome upon the ground of the constitution of human nature. Authority, tradition, imagination, theological learning, and refined scholarship represent the one side; philosophic speculation, scientific speculation, scientific scepticism, and impatience of restraint represent the other. Mere Protestantism, in harmony with neither, appeals to neither of the two vital principles by which in every age of the world the human mind has been influenced. It did so once; but it does so no longer." (Review of English Church Life, "New York Tribune," Oct. 7, 1882.)

The rise and progress of the Broad Church school of thought dates from Coleridge's philosophy, Wordsworth's poetry, and Maurice's theology. There had been rationalistic theologians before the year 1830, but there was no movement with life and growth and a future in it before this date. The Cambridge school of Platonists, with such names as Cudworth, Henry Moore, Benjamin Whichcote, — the latter called by his contem-

poraries the "greatest preacher of his age," — had flourished two centuries before. But it was reserved for Coleridge and Maurice to set in motion, perhaps unwittingly, the latest development of Anglican religious life. It is hard, as we read of these men by their contemporaries, to judge aright of the magnitude of the movement they inaugurated. Carlyle, in his memorabilia, speaks of Coleridge in the following unvarnished phraseology: —

"Coleridge's table-talk — insignificant, yet expressive of Coleridge. A great possibility that has not realized itself. Never did I see such apparatus got ready for thinking, and so little thought. He mounts scaffolding, pulleys, and tackle; gathers all the tools in the neighborhood with labor, with noise, demonstration, abuse, and sets — three bricks. I see in him one glorious upstruggling ray (as it were) which perished — all but ineffectual — in a lax, languid, impotent character."

A little too hasty generalization on the part of the Chelsea seer, only equalled by the following satire upon Maurice: —

"One of the most entirely uninteresting men of genius that I can meet in society is poor

Maurice, to me; all twisted, screwed, wire-drawn, with such a restless sensitiveness, the utmost inability to let nature have fair play with him. I do not remember that a word ever came from him betokening clear recognition, or healthy, free sympathy with any thing. One must really let him alone till the prayers one does offer for him (pure-hearted, earnest creature that he is) begin to take effect."

How grateful we ought to be for Carlyle's prayers! for they brought a more gracious rain upon the inheritance of the Church, than did those of Elijah, when he asked for rain in the days of the drought in Israel.

One other description by this contemporaneous seer of the third factor in this newly-evolved life remains. It is thus that Carlyle speaks of Wordsworth: —

"I did not expect much, but got mostly what I wanted. One finds a kind of sincerity in his speech. But for prolixity, thinness, endless dilution, it excels all the other speech I had heard from mortals. A genuine man — but, also, essentially a small genuine man.

"I fancy that his environment and rural prophethood has hurt him much. I rather fancy he

loves nothing in the world as much as one could wish. No man that I have ever met has given me less, has disappointed me less. May peace be with him; and a happy evening to his, on the whole, respectable life."

If it is wise that we should seek to see ourselves as others see us, it is still more wise to let posterity have a word to say concerning the actors in any present.

What the Oxford tracts, with the culminating horror of Tract No. 90, were to the Catholic renaissance of Newman and Pusey, the famous series of "Essays and Reviews" were to the infant Broad Church movement. The Church of England stood aghast, as in unmistakable print, in black and white, the rationalism of Germany was found growing upon English soil. But after her first sound of alarm, recovery so far set in, that the first of the essayists, Dr. Temple, was made a bishop, and was thus effectually robbed of the fascinating sting of heresy. Arnold of Rugby, Robertson of Brighton, the brothers Julius and Augustus Hare, Kingsley of Eversley, Rowland Williams in his little parish of Broadchalke, in Kent, with Stanley in Westminster Abbey, form a group of as brave and stalwart workers as the

rugged group of Evangelicals a century before them, or the Oxford leaders, their contemporaries.

But Maurice was their leader. It was round him that they gathered. Perhaps there were those of his day and generation who looked upon him only as an impracticable dreamer; but it is well at times to remember that the dreamer has his mission quite as surely as the drudge.

It is difficult to fix an exact date to the advent of this third and latest school of thought in the Church-life in America. The year 1845 marks the beginning of Bishop Alonzo Potter's remarkable episcopate of twenty years. This was, as we have seen, the beginning of a new conception of Church-life in the Episcopal Church. The wonderful influence of this man silently made itself felt in the councils of the Church. The contagion of his example was felt in that hitherto narrow corporation, the House of Bishops. A definite something was found as the residuum of his life and teaching, that was simply known as churchmanship, without the addition of any adjectives which had to do with lines of trigonometry, such as height, or depth, or breadth.

Twenty years after Bishop Alonzo Potter's consecration, or about the year 1865, the first few

broad churchmen in this American Episcopal Church appeared. It would be a hard matter at present to name them, even if such an enumeration should be deemed wise. It is difficult to tell where they came from, or from what quarter they developed.

But the important thing is, that they began to appear. They came, as the first robins come in the spring-time, suddenly, and yet in groups; or as the clustering quail bunch together in the thickets in October.

Some of them came from the families and the seminaries which had hitherto been known as the shrines of Evangelicalism. Others came from an intellectual development, which burned its legitimate way through the equilateral boundaries of Anglican high churchmanship. To some, the Evangelical hypothesis was not sufficient for the demands of the new age. To others, the dogmatic decisions of the Church fathers proved themselves inadequate to minds which were *en rapport* with the thought and spirit of the present-day outlook upon life. A casual observer would not take these young men for clergymen. They found themselves, by some mysterious occult law, warring with the traditions and temperament of the cleri-

cal mind. A black tie or scarf took the place of the old white cravat; a scholarly way of looking at things usurped the old foregone conclusion of the party verdict. The older fathers looked upon them as mere theological and ecclesiastical Gallios; but the people were glad to hear them, and the pulpits where they preached brightened with a fresh hue of interest.

Theological club-life asserted itself with these young broad churchmen. They had their "clericus clubs" in the large cities; their preachers were beginning to make themselves felt, and in not a few seminaries their influence was felt most decidedly.

There were three marked leaders to this latest school of Church-life. Perhaps they were not looked upon at the time as leaders, but the verdict of posterity has marked them as such. The first of these men was William Augustus Muhlenberg, whose inspiring life has recently been told in the interesting volume from the pen of Miss Anne Ayres. Dr. Muhlenberg was the seer and the poet of this latest school of Church-life. He would not deny the power and the beauty of the old, but at the same time he believed in the surely-coming new. He rejoiced in both the terms, or Shibboleths, of the parties that had gone before, so

that at the last he called himself an Evangelical Catholic, with the accent on the third syllable of the word "evangelical," and not, as the stalwarts of that party put it, on the *first* syllable of the word, spelled with a great big letter "E." His poetry, his Church of the Holy Communion, his St. Luke's Hospital, his dream of St. John-land, and the long hoped-for Inter-Ecclesiastical Congress, together with his memorial papers to the General Convention, mark him as the poet, or the creative mind, of this latest school of thought.

He passed the days of his own generation as a visionary, a dreamer, a beautiful spirit with Utopian ideas continually before him, but not as one of the practical men of the Church's life and thought. To-day the so-called practical men of that period are alike forgotten, while the spirit of Muhlenberg is at the van of the Church's life of the present.

If Muhlenberg was the vates, or seer, of the Broad Church movement, Dr. Edward A. Washburn was its philosopher. He formulated spiritual sentiments into philosophical propositions. He was, after all, the true leader of this latest school of Church-thought. His spacious study in the rectory of Calvary Church, New York, was the tryst-

ing-place where the younger clans of the Church met and fought out their doubts, and perplexities, and fears. Here the "Living Church" was born, whose motto, taken from the old hymn of Bernard, might have been,

"Brief life is here our portion."

It was named and dubbed for its knightly work at a large meeting held in this same study, wherein bishops, doctors of divinity, and seedling students were alike eager with the hope of a new light dawning o'er the gloomy hills of ecclesiastical darkness. In this same study the plans for the proposed Church Congress saw first the light of day.[1] Who that was at the early meetings of these men of liberal thought can ever forget the figure of Dr. Washburn, as with graceful, military stride he held the imaginary doctrine or proposition in the fingers of his left hand, and, thrusting it out at arms' length, demolished it with the sabre-swing of his right arm; while he braced back his square-set shoulders, as if ready to meet the onslaught of some attacking force? It was Washburn

[1] While it was at Dr. Washburn's study that the desire for a Church Congress first took public expression, I believe that it is generally considered that Dr. Edwin Harwood of New Haven was the original advocate of the first Episcopal Congress.

who gave dignity and power to views and opinions, which in themselves were too often crude and ill-compacted. The rich machinery of his spirit worked out a strong and philosophical conclusion to every thing he laid his mental grasp upon; and the Broad Church school of thought in America, rose slowly and grandly to a position of dignified leadership as Dr. Washburn became its acknowledged head and master.

Most fittingly of him can we say, in Longfellow's lines on Charles Sumner, —

"Death takes us by surprise,
And stays our hurrying feet.
The great design unfinished lies;
Our lives are incomplete.

But in the dark unknown
Perfect their circles seem;
Even as a bridge's arch of stone
Is rounded in the stream.

Alike are life and death,
When life in death survives,
And the uninterrupted breath
Inspires a thousand lives.

Were a star quenched on high,
For ages would its light,
Still travelling downward from the sky,
Shine on our mortal sight.

So when a good man dies,
For years beyond our ken
The light he leaves behind him lies
Upon the paths of men."

If Muhlenberg was the seer, and Washburn the philosopher, John Cotton Smith was the statesman, of this third school of thought in the American Episcopal Church.

Dr. Smith came of a race and pedigree which knew how to bend gracefully. He had in his composition something of the politician, something of the courtier, and a great deal that was statesman-like. In a notice of his death the "New York Times" spoke in the following words of this vigorous worker: —

"Of the three leaders who have dropped out of the ranks of the Episcopal clergy in this city during the last two years, Dr. John Cotton Smith was the youngest, and in some respects the ablest. Dr. Osgood had large culture, and drew more closely together the affiliated interests of religion and society, than they had been drawn before his day. Dr. Washburn organized and developed the Broad Church school of thought, and united, in a rare degree, the man of letters with the quality which made a preacher of unusual force and power. Dr.

Smith had the same love of letters and discursive learning, but possessed a broader and more generalizing mind. He united the statesman with the man of thought. He was deeply interested in social and religious movements. His heart and mind went together in efforts to regenerate society, and in his hand a metropolitan parish came to represent the forces which touch humanity in every direction. The abstract tendency of his mind was largely controlled by his practical interest in the lives of his fellow-men. He illustrated, as also did Dr. Muhlenberg before him, the modern way of making the Christian Church inclusive of all the ethical movements of the day. This large plan of working placed him in an exceptional position. He became a notable clergyman. He never shut himself up within what has been sarcastically termed the 'Anglican paddock.' His parish was worked after a liberal fashion, and his ideas of what belonged to a clergyman of the last part of the nineteenth century followed in the same order. He never swerved from the standards and obligations of ecclesiastical authority in his own communion; and yet, perhaps, no clergyman in the Episcopal Church enjoyed to the same extent the confidence of Christian people in other religious

bodies. He had little sympathy with ecclesiastical exclusiveness. His mind and hand were in accord with what is best in American thought and life. He comprehended the lines of direction in the Episcopal Church, and had a large share in the pacifying influences which finally overcame the extremes of opinions prevalent in that body ten years ago. It was generally felt that in foresight, in the knowledge of men, in the recognition and accomplishment of possibilites, and in the ability to influence others, he had the qualities of leadership to a rare degree, and this was a prominent feature of his latter life. He was trusted for his correct insight into the directions of current opinion, and beloved for the courage and honesty with which he stood by his liberal convictions. He did something to widen the range and enlarge the possibilities of the Episcopal Church, to strengthen and broaden its sympathies with what is best in American thought and mind. Though he had done much for a man in his fifty-sixth year, his mind was still growing; and, had his life been extended to the usual span of years, his influence would have been felt still more strongly as an ecclesiastical leader, and as the kind of a teacher most needed in the present tendencies of American Christianity."

The "Christian Union" also recognized the power and effectiveness of his work. In a notice of his death it used the following words: —

"Simultaneously with the cessation of party spirit in the Episcopal Church came the demand for free discussion; and out of this sprang the Church Congress, with a whole army of broad churchmen behind it. Dr. Smith was one of the original leaders in this movement, and almost the last time he appeared in public was on the platform of the Providence Congress, where he read a valuable paper on the Revised Version of the New Testament. He believed in the Congress, and saw in it the kind of influence which would do the most good for the Episcopal Church, and prepare the way for it to take its rightful hold upon American thought and society. He had much to do in shaping its policy, and some of the ablest papers read before it came from his pen.

"He saw principles and truths as wholes, while not overlooking them as particulars; and at the time of his death had come to be trusted as a man who had grown out into something of the fulness of a representative leader of the Episcopal Church. He stood almost alone, because he stood foremost. He understood the great Protestant bodies, and

he understood his own Church; and people who sought for the unities among Christians had begun to trust him to a rare degree.

"He had the respect and confidence of the best Christian people in America, and God had put rare opportunities for great usefulness into his hands. He stood in the front line of conservative religious progress, and he was statesman, philosopher, and Christian leader in one. The changes and growths in which he had a conspicuous share had placed him in a unique position; and just as the hopes of men had begun to centre in him as in one who had seen the vision of the new day, and understood what is yet to be, he vanished from our sight."

But although Muhlenberg was the seer, Washburn the philosopher, and Cotton Smith, with his "Church and State," the statesman of this school of thought, there were others who were none the less leaders in this movement. The rector of Trinity Church, Boston, was the great preacher of this phase of religious thought and life, and guarded with a fervent care, like the burden of the Jewish prophets of old, the great citadel of individualism.

He touched us all with his magic wand of

power! He opened streams in the desert, and lo, the long-hidden waters gushed out! What is not owing to this great brother and leader, from the younger preachers and workers of to-day, for making it a delight and an inspiration to walk before the Lord in the land of the living! The assistant bishop of New York, too, with his wonderful power of handling opposite men and divergent tendencies, has stood guard at the other extreme, and has watched over the Church's institutionalism. Even that which some critics would condemn in his brief episcopate, has sprung alone from his strong desire to inaugurate, like his illustrious father, a reign of generous churchmanship, wherein every thing that is good and beautiful might become a serviceable power. Dr. Osgood gave his learning; Dr. Mulford and Professor Allen of Cambridge, have enriched the theology and ecclesiastical history of the Church with their healthful and vigorous contributions to the world of religious thought, Heber Newton has taught us in plain and strong terms the right and wrong of the Bible; while individual pulpits and isolated dioceses have shown the power of the preachers who have occupied them, and the bishops who have guarded them. And this latest development

of thought and life has been brought about, not so much by any party's organization, as by the work and influence of an unorganized school of liberal thought. The Broad Church school in America has slowly, but surely, put the Episcopal Church well in the forefront, as the leader and inspirer of the other religious organizations around her.

The work of this school has been twofold: —

1. First of all, these broad churchmen have unloaded the Church of its superfluous and merely traditional dogma. They have reduced the dogmatic habit and tendency to its lowest possible terms. There has been a vast clearing of the deck of its traditional and unnecessary dogma. These later teachers and thinkers have dwelt less and less among the doctrines and traditions, and more and more among the simple verities as found in the realm of ethics, morality, and the world of right living and honest thought. The inductional habit of mind has taken the place of the older method of theological deduction, and, in accordance with the old motto of Terence, they have proved that nothing which is human can ever be foreign to the wants of humanity. This is, undoubtedly, the first gift to the Church of the present, from this third and latest school of Church-life.

II. The other gift to the Church has been the establishment of the free platform of the Church Congress. This Church-congress system was first tried as an experiment in 1871, and is an importation of the later life of the English Church. A correspondent of "The Nation" describes this English Congress as follows: —

"The Church Congress has been hitherto distinguished not only by the zeal, but by the violence, of those who frequent it. Bitter invectives of the high churchmen against their Low Church persecuters, and against the jurisdiction of lay judges in ecclesiastical matters, angry collisions, not only between low churchmen and high churchmen, but between both and the Broad Church or heterodox clergy, who occasionally joined in the mêlée, were frequent during its earlier years. The High Church party, as being that which has the keenest interest in all ecclesiastical affairs, generally came off victorious, and gave a High Church character to the Congress as a whole. But in the last few years there has been a visible change. Broad churchmen and Evangelicals recognize the value of the Congress, and use it more than they formerly did. The high churchmen are more temperate and conciliatory. And now, at the last

meeting, there was, together with some warm discussion, a general convergence of sentiment, a feeling of friendliness between the three great parties, a sense of unity underlying their divergences, which strikingly contrasts with the tone of earlier years. It is not that the old controversies have disappeared, or are on their way to disappearing; it is, rather, that each section of the Church has learned by experience that it cannot extinguish the other, either by the aid of the law, or mere clamor and denunciation. The Ritualists have made good their position in one direction, and the Latitudinarians in another; and there is no use in treating them with the same impatience which was felt while they were still new and ungauged forces. And the Ritualists themselves, just because they feel themselves stronger in numbers and influence, are less disposed to intemperance of language; or, at any rate, are better able to control it when they meet those who belong to different schools."

The experiment of the Congress in this country has not only been the greatest possible success in the way of producing liberality and vitality of thought in the Episcopal Church: its method has proved to be the connecting-link between the Episcopal Church and the sister historic churches of

this land, so that the Church Congress has grown into the "Congress of Churches," and the "Congress of Churches" has led the way to the theoretical "United Churches of the United States," which may yet, in time, become a practical unity without being a dead uniformity.

But it is time to bring this chapter to a close. The mission and meaning of the Evangelical party, the value and power of the High Church position, the work and influence of the Broad Church school, show us the gifts of the Church of yesterday to the life of to-day.

It is thus that this Church, through the growth and development of its separate and distinct schools of thought, becomes a heritage of faith and experience, which already lays its vigorous hand upon the Church-life of the future! Can we not, then, say of this Church of ours, in the matchless language of the psalm, "Qui regis Israel," as, with gratitude for its definite past, and confidence in its generous present, we await the developments of the future with a keen and active eye, ever upon the alert for practical, and not mere fictitious or sentimental, unity in this highly-favored land of ours, "Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt: Thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it. Thou

madest room for it, and when it had taken root, it filled the land. She stretched out her branches unto the sea, and her boughs unto the river. Turn Thee again, thou God of hosts: show the light of Thy countenance, and we shall be whole."

CHAPTER II.

THE THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AS IT CENTRES IN THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION.

PAGANISM and Christianity are diametrically opposed in their conception of human nature's central hope — its belief in an ever-present God in the midst of the world and human life.

To the pagan mind the world has existed for ages in some way; and at the remote beginning of all things stands God, just as the first chalking of a long line drawn upon a blackboard is the beginning of the line. In other words, God is pushed back from the bustling verities of the present world, through space and time, until matter has a beginning, and when matter begins, there God is found, — a *Deus ex machina*, but a God in some way inwrought with the dawning, phenomenal world.

To the Christian mind, on the other hand, God exists outside of the boundary lines of time and

space. "*I am* hath sent thee," said the Almighty in His vision to Moses. "Before Abraham was *I am*," said our Lord to the Jews who stood around Him deriding His claims of Messiahship.

These are certainly striking assertions of the doctrine which has long been forgotten, and which is dawning upon the world to-day with such a conscious sense of power, that God is present in His world and in human nature, and that this is what the revelation of truth in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ means: that the doctrine of a far-off, absent God is essentially a pagan doctrine, and brings about pagan results in the development of thought, even if it be Christian thought.

Plato's dream of an ideal reality underneath the material creation, becomes actual in the Christian doctrine of the timeless existence of God, and his revealed presence in human history.

I want in this chapter to speak about the theology of the Church of the future, and its method of expression as found in the central doctrine of Christianity, — the fact and the power of the Incarnation.

All the new growth of positive Christian truth, all the fresh flowering of religious impulse, all the reconstructive theological tendencies of the age we

live in, come from the re-preaching of this doctrine of the Incarnation — God manifested in the flesh. Fifty years ago the burden of preaching was to the effect that Christ was present once in the world, and that it was the atonement upon Mount Calvary, which united this wandering world to God. Now, while it is just as truly maintained that that one act was the historical and official impact of the Saviour saving the world, the other great truth is brought out to the light with a new power and meaning; and when we think of Christ as the power of God, we think of Him as to-day one with His Church by the contact of a living faith which sees within the veil, and not only and alone as one who eighteen hundred years ago, was with His people for the mere fragment of a human lifetime.

This eternal life of God outside of creation, time, and human history, while it is the basis of all theistic philosophy, is also the cardinal tenet of the Christian religion.

It has been forced up into the light again at the present period, and it comes before the world with a right or philosophical side, and with a crude or superficial side. But the crudities and superficial inferences will disappear, in time, be-

fore the rounding, polishing processes of that Christian truth which is eternal, and must abide. It is this doctrine of the Incarnation coming to the light as a forgotten reality, or a long lost treasure, which is the beginning of all that new expression of theology, which is asserting itself to-day, and which will change the basis of theology from a far-off theological to a present Christological one. It is this doctrine of the Incarnation, hugged and embraced by the unrelenting Church of Rome in her dogma of the Mass, as the horns of the altar and the city of refuge whither the avenger of man's soul dare not tread, which has kept the idea of a rational supernaturalism alive in the Church as, after all, the one only motive-power of the Church's life. It is the raying forth of this dogma of Rome, based upon the doctrine of the Incarnation, or the fact of an ever-present Christ with us, which has given us that latest departure in the religious world, known as ritualism, — a tendency which has both a superficial, and a deeply-earnest, side, and whose bright and positive side is rooted and anchored in the new realization and new preaching of this doctrine of the Incarnation.

Perhaps the Church may have stumbled over

the manner of Christ's presence with us in the past; but even this stumbling amid the verities of our faith, will not be in vain if it leads the Church to recast its habit of thought and expression, and to build up its theology for the future, not upon the pagan doctrine of a far-off Deity, but upon God's presence in human history, and in human nature, as an eternal, historical, and spiritual fact.

It was this belief which nerved the apostles in the impact of the early beginnings of their faith with the dying beliefs of paganism.

It was no far-off Jewish God, no traditional Jehovah, Jove, or Lord, which made these once timid disciples strong to do service for their Master. Never could these men forget the scene of the Crucifixion, or the joy of Easter-day, or the glory of the Mount of Ascension. That which impressed them with such a tremendous sense of their Master's power and authority over nature and man, was the fact, that at last they perceived that God was in Christ, as He had never been in human nature before.

Here was the long-promised Emmanuel — God with us. And it was this belief which made the disciples strong, and gave the apostle to the

Gentiles his majestic command over his fellow-men. For Christ did not promise His disciples the gift of an infallible Book, or an infallible Church, or an infallible Vicegerent. He promised them Himself. He promised He would be with His people to the end of time. Like tired, doubting sailors ready to dispute over chart and compass, and draw opposite conclusions from the same instructions, the apostles were hovering around their Lord, burdened with the sense of their responsibility, and wondering how they were to conduct this newly-formed Christian Church. But when Jesus, the Master pilot, born to rule, and made to be leaned upon, said to them, "I am with you; I am in the ship," then their imaginary fears broke away, and they were calm and strong again: and this is what I mean by the inner power of this re-preached truth of the Incarnation.

It is Christ as Emmanuel, God with us; not as a pious expression, not as a mere title found in the Bible, not as a dogma of theology, but as a living and abiding fact.

And the difference between Christianity as a force among the other forces of human life, and Christianity as a theological science, built up out of traditions, syllogisms, metaphysics, and eccle-

siastical conventionalities, is the difference between Christ present in His Church and in the world He came to save, and this or that human interpretation of the doctrine of His presence.

The one is an abiding religious principle, and is a power; the other is a theological science depending upon the intellectual condition of men's minds, and is at best an opinion or a bundle of opinions. It is the difference between the Master — silent, it may be, but yet after all in His own ship — and the distressed sailors disputing in the storm as to the meaning of the written order, and as to how they shall sail the battered and uncertain bark. And this is just the difference which we find among the commonest facts of every-day life. We may know a pearly gem, or a rift of light, or a simple flower as a fact, without at all beginning to understand the scientific interpretation of it. Or, as Tennyson puts it: —

> "Flower in the crannied wall,
> I would pluck you from the crannies;
> Hold you here, root and all,
> In my hand,
> Little flower: but if I could understand
> What you are, root and all,
> And all *in* all,
> I should know what God and man is."

One of the commonest tendencies which comes home to us all, in the habitude of our ordinary modes of Christian thinking, is to live by spasmodic theological epochs, and to wonder what is coming when the next new epoch comes. We soon find out in childhood, under the average Sunday-school instruction, that there have been thus far in the history of the world three periods, when, in a special way, God's hand has been manifested in human history, — the epochs of creation and of redemption and of sanctification; or, as the Catechism has it in its summing up of the Apostles' Creed, we learn, first, "To believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the world; secondly, in God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind; and, thirdly, in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the people of God."

Not very long ago I heard a Christian minister, while preaching, declare his wish that the present dispensation of the Holy Spirit might come to an end, in order that the next manifestation of God's power might be seen, and that His Almighty arm might be made bare before the nations of the earth.

But this dead-lock which the formal and me-

chanical type of mind puts upon the present, simply because it is the present, and is neither the future nor the past, is an utter travesty of the revealed will and purposes of God. Such thoughts of an absent Deity, and such words with reference to Him, are worthy of Elijah's bitter scorn, when he stung into a logical and consistent rage the false priests of Baal: "Either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey; or, peradventure, he sleepeth and must be awakened." We wind every thing up in what we are pleased to call a dispensation; as though all the power of Christianity was to come streaming from that far-off hill-top of Galilee, where our Lord last touched the earth before He ascended into heaven, and where that terrible cloud, which has all these many years hung over our human hopes, shut Him forever from our sight.

Just think of it! As if God had forgotten His world; as if He Himself were not in it; as if the law and harmony of His purposes could never be interrupted by this *deus ex machina* lodged somewhere behind the complicated mechanism, until it had finished to the utmost its wound-up tune; or as if the clock was wound up to run a certain length of time, and strike a certain number of

predestined hours, while the key of the timepiece was hung upon some pivotal epoch called a dispensation, and the schoolhouse was locked by the master who was absent, and none of the children could get the key or do any thing to help matters, until the doors were opened from without, and the long-absent teacher had come back once more.

And that is why the Church of Rome, amid all its errors, falsities, and superstitions, is the magnificent power we see to-day, with its autocratic claims and supernatural gifts, and holds undoubtedly in trust some gift for the Church of the future. And this is because it does not divorce God from the life of man and the world, but declares that whenever He performs a miracle or does a work, it is God's miracle and God's work; that the finite limitations of time, such as present, past, and future, have nothing whatever to do with Him who is always the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

This power which is hidden in the doctrine of the Incarnation links itself to our human history, and becomes part of the inheritance of the human race. Once in the order of time, according to the long-expected promises, the Saviour

came. Once He was here in this world of ours: once the blood-drops of His atonement fell upon the place of a skull, and no malign power can ever wipe that fact away. This is not a hope or a belief, a sentiment or a wish: it is an abiding human fact. And in this way the realization of this doctrine of the Incarnation comes to the Christian consciousness, like some forked-lightning flash out of heaven. It is powerful where it strikes; and, like the lightning, it is vivid, and breaks into two bestriding sides. It comes to the Christian Church on the one hand with an electric wave of impulse, and we call it mysticism: it comes to another portion of the same Church with a sort of burning-glass glare which has almost a physical scorch in it, and we call it sacramentalism. In the former phase of its power the Holy Ghost becomes incarnate in the spiritual emotions of man; in the latter, Christ is taught as present in the sacraments; and thus the opposite wings of the Church draw off and separate. But under all this varied interpretation of the methods of Christ's influence with us, the root and basis of this standing doctrine of the Incarnation is here, and can never be argued down.

And it is this which, as we have seen, has been forced up into the light to-day, and is slowly settling down to take its position as the keystone in the structure of the theology that must appear as the expression of the changed thought of this busy, scientific, utilitarian century.

The history of this doctrine and the philosophy of its rise into the important place which it takes in the thought of to-day are interesting and very suggestive.

Hegel announced the philosophical necessity for this truth of the immanence of God in human nature.

Wordsworth tuned his sensitive and intuitional soul to this same thought. We see this in his "Ode on Immortality," and in his simile in the "Excursion" about the child applying the shell to his ear and catching the sounds of the far-off sea. What a cry for an interpreter of life's mystery is found in those well-known words:

> "Even such a shell the universe itself
> Is to the ear of faith; and there are times,
> I doubt not, when to you it doth impart
> Authentic tidings of invisible things,
> Of ebb and flow, and ever-during power,
> And endless peace subsisting at the heart
> Of endless agitation."

But such a Christian pantheism as this must needs find a voice in human nature. The human instinct for a Christ must find a Christ. And it is the Christ, as we shall presently see, who, in the truest manner, reveals God to humanity. Let us see for a moment how this Christ was found in Germany and in England.

Let us take two well-known philosophers, — Schleiermacher and Coleridge.

In speaking of the former, Maurice says in his "Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy:" —

"The Moravian discipline in which he was brought up was unsatisfying to his intellect: it did not meet the doubts respecting the sacred records which were awake in his time, and which affected him. But it left a deep impression on his heart. By degrees the two demands of the heart and the intellect, became more distinguished in him than they have perhaps been in any man. His heart must have a religion: it must resign itself absolutely, unreservedly to God. At first, the all-embracing divinity of Spinoza seemed to meet his needs. He could repose in that. As his personal necessities deepened, he became more conscious that he must have a personal being, upon whom he could cast his own burden and the world's bur-

den. He believed in all his heart in such a being. He set him forth to his fellows as the only home for their spirits, the guide of their conduct. A very present helper he sought and found, and led numbers, who were weary of systems of divinity, to seek and find. But apparently no one with so much of this faith, cared less for a history of the divine acts, no one was more perplexed by a revelation which imported to come in the form of a history, to discover first the divine king of a nation, then the divine head of all nations. What he found in that revelation which answered to the cravings of his heart, and of human hearts, he accepted: that belonged to religion. The rest concerned the intellect. It might be dealt with merely by the intellect."

What a true description is this of a seeker after truth, whose two avenues of search — the intellectual method and the method of the spiritual faculty — led up to that central personage of human history, in whom these two methods of approach met.

And again Maurice writes, in analyzing the peculiar intellection of Coleridge's system: —

"He (that is, Coleridge) learnt that if he could believe in God, other difficulties would be noth-

ing to him. That was the infinite difficulty. But he discovered that it was also the infinite necessity. He could believe nothing till he had this ground of belief. To feel this rock at the feet, to know that it was a rock, he had need to be shown something also of what he himself was.

"There was a point, at which the old faith of his land intersected the most modern philosophy of another land. The demand for being by Plato, by Spinoza, by the Germans since Kant, was not an idle demand.

"The I am, that I am who spoke to the Hebrew shepherd, awakened it and answered. The demand for unity by philosophical or religious schools was not an idle demand. The name which was written upon the Christian child satisfied it. The belief in a Father, which Priestly and the Unitarians had inculcated, was a deep and true belief. But that it might be real and practical, that it might not mock men with the idlest hope, there must be a union between the Father and his children; there must be a redemption from evil." — MAURICE: *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, vol. ii, 668.

I have quoted these two passages from the pages of Maurice's "History of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy" to show how these two representative

men, — Schleiermacher and Coleridge, — the one in Germany and the other in England, arrived at this necessity for the doctrine of the Incarnation. Yet their philosophical investigations produced a recoil in their minds from the fascinating but nebulous system of Spinoza's pantheism. God was in the world, they said. Nature reflected the Deity at every turn. But human nature was a spark of nature. Was God in human nature? they asked. A being the soul must have to lean on. And thus they came to the realization of the old truth in a new setting — a setting, a form of expression which was the sure reaction from the conventional Augustinian theology of the Latin and the Reformed Church — that God was in Christ in a kind and in a degree, in which He was in no other being; and that this God-man was the world's hope, the way, the truth, and the life.

The Oxford movement and the latitudinarian reaction from this return to the usages of the primitive Church, were the next steps in the progress of our present-day theology. We are familiar with the story of this upheaval at Oxford; and the many elaborate and carefully-prepared reviews of the late Dr. Pusey and his work, are fresh in our minds at the present time. And yet, when

the history of this age comes to be written, as one has said, "The movement in which Dr. Pusey was a prominent leader, which, indeed, was known by his name, will be looked back upon as the most important crisis through which the Church of England has passed since the days of Archbishop Cranmer. The world has swept on and has virtually left Puseyism behind; but there can be no doubt that the Oxford movement, or Tractarianism, or Puseyism, as it has been called, has been a quick and potent element in English life and thought."

This movement, while it was clad in the armor of ritual, and seemed to be the revival of a spirit of form and ceremony, struck for a living, present Christ in the world, in the place of a dead Christ upon the cross eighteen centuries ago. It was in a strange way, as I have already said, the outcome of this newly-realized doctrine that God was in His own world in the person of Christ: He was not only once here when He hung upon the cross on Mount Calvary.

Every great movement or awakening period, and every new stimulus upon our energies, breaks into one of two lines; either into the life of further study and retirement, or into the arena of imme-

diate action. It is difficult in any philosophy of thought, to find out always the exact relationship of one thing to another, though we know that an unseen relationship exists.

Inspiration works in zigzag paths, like the uncertain currents of lightning; and it is hard to tell just where it will strike. "Oh, that I could know more!" is the cry of those who receive the impress of their inspiration as knowledge: and this cry, this yearning of the nature, led on to the movement which took the name of its literature, and was called the Movement of the Essays and Reviews. "Oh, that I could do more!" is the cry of those who find the inspiration of a new movement leading them out into the world of action.

This was the motive which led the other wing of the Church, to those philanthropies and practical charities which the genius of ritualism has handled with such a firm and steady Christian grasp.

But, after all that we may say about it, this Oxford movement was philosophically the legitimate result of Coleridge's philosophy; as Coleridge's philosophy, with Wordsworth's poetry, finally settled out of a nebulous pantheism into the definite clearness of a positive, but a reconstructed, Christianity.

It is Martineau, in his striking essay upon "The Personal Influences of our Present Theology," who so happily classifies these divergent tendencies, when he says: —

"To these three movements, distinguished by the names of Newman, Coleridge, and Carlyle, must be mainly ascribed the altered spirit in regard to religion pervading the young intellect of England."

Could any classification be clearer than this? The Oxford movement broke into three divisions, — the right wing, following Newman, went to Rome; the left wing, following the teachings of Carlyle, has led out into the barren lot of what Martineau felicitously calls "Germanism;" and the central division, holding fast the reformed and readjusted faith, has held that ground, which the spirit of an on-moving Christianity has claimed in advance, for that civilization which the principles of Christ have always dominated. I mean by this, that one current of this century has eddied off towards Latin ecclesiasticism; another current has whirled its way around to German refinement of expression; while the main stream has swept on towards a definite future, and has brought with it down the stream of history the most sacred traditions of the past.

The next important event, after the Oxford movement, was the publication in America of Dr. Horace Bushnell's works, — "Nature and the Supernatural," and "The Vicarious Sacrifice."

Directly in the line of Coleridge and Maurice, this distinguished divine has presented the American Church, with the curious spectacle of a Puritan theologian explaining and enforcing the hidden principles of Anglicanism. For an analogy to this, we must imagine, if we can, a fire-eating Southerner of the Palmetto State, maintaining, in the territory south of Mason and Dixon's line, the principles of William Lloyd Garrison's abolition sheet, — "The Liberator."

No doubt the Church of England, by her State connection, and by her persistent bringing forward of the outward or ecclesiastical form of Church-life, had forgotten the spiritual seat and origin of her two cardinal dogmas, — baptismal regeneration and eucharistic grace. But it was reserved for a Puritan divine, out of the system of New-England Congregationalism, to discover and drag out to the light, these two priceless gifts which the Anglican Church, in a mute and unconscious way, had been holding in trust for the human race.

Bushnell's "Christian Nurture," as being the truest interpretation of the Anglican position with reference to the sacrament of infant baptism; and "The Vicarious Sacrifice," as being the truest interpretation of the long-neglected doctrine of the Incarnation, as held in the Anglican view of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, — are most valued gifts on the part of the American Church to the theology of the Church Catholic, and are a wonderful explanation, from the Puritan extreme of Protestantism, of that persistently moving middle current of rational theology, which has been incased in the formulas and liturgy of the great Anglican communion, — she that in heart is free, and is the mother of us all.

The strife and the contest which followed the publication of Dr. Bushnell's "Christian Nurture," is well known to all students of the history of the Church in New England.

But this storm was redoubled when "The Vicarious Sacrifice" appeared. And the paradox about this whole matter was, that while he seemed to destroy the very foundations of the orthodox faith in the doctrine of the atonement, he persisted in maintaining that he was only, after all, explaining and enforcing the altar

view of Christ's sacrifice, as witnessed in the celebration of the eucharist in the Anglican communion.

For myself, I know of nothing so profound and discerning in the history of modern theological writing, as Dr. Bushnell's last chapter in "The Vicarious Sacrifice," in which he pleads for human redemption, by the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, as seen in the form of the altar-service and by the use of the altar symbolism and phraseology. The deliverance of our souls from sin, and the deliverance of our minds from the burden of their own self-consciousness, is found in throwing ourselves upon the fact of the Incarnation; while the objective side of worship — found in the sacraments and in the altar-service — delivers our souls from the subjective anxiety, which a too lavish Protestant introspection has brought with it, as the den-like shadow of so much light. And in this view of the atonement, the Incarnation is both a deliverance of our souls from sin, and of our minds from their own subjective anxiety; and the meaning of the strong human tendency to drift towards the sacramental expression of worship is thus explained by this American divine of Puritanism, as a philosophical necessity of the mind to free itself from

the constantly pressing burden of a painfully conscious subjectivity.

And in this way, the insistence of the Anglican faith upon the sacrament of moral cleansing, and the sacrament of spiritual nutrition is explained by Dr. Bushnell as, after all, the gift to the Church of the Anglican reformers of the one great fact, that Christ is present with His people in the act of moral cleansing and education, and in the act of communion of spirits.

"I could not excuse myself," he writes, "in the closing of this last chapter, if I did not call attention directly to the very instructive and somewhat humbling fact, that we are ending just where Christianity began. After passing around the circuit of more than eighteen centuries, occupied, alas, how largely! in litigations of theory and formula, we come back at last to say, dropping out all the accumulated rubbish of our wisdom, preach Christ just as the Apostolic Fathers and Saints of the first three centuries did; viz., in the facts of His personal life and death; and these facts in the forms of the altar. If we look at the effects wrought, these first three centuries of Christian preaching have never been matched in any other three; and yet they had no formula at all of

atonement, and had not even begun, as far as we can discover, to have any speculative inquiries on the subject. All our most qualified historians agree in this; and we can see for ourselves from the Epistles of Clement and other Apostolic Fathers, so called, that no such inquiries had yet arrived. Is it then to be the end of all our litigations, theories, and attempted scientific constructions, that, after our heats of controversy have cooled, and our fires of extirpation have quite burned away, we come back to the same kind of preaching alphabet, in which the first fathers had their simple beginnings? Be it so. And yet the labor we have spent is by no means lost; we shall come back into that preaching with an immense advantage gained over these fathers. What they did in their simplicity, we shall do in a way of well-directed reason.

"Their simplicity, in fact, supposed the certainty of all these long detours of labor and contest to come afterwards; but we, in our return, come back with our experiments all made, and detours all ended, not simply to preach Christ just in their manner, but to do it because we have finally proved the wisdom of it, and the foolishness of

every thing else, — advantages that are worth to us all they have cost."

And again, in this same closing chapter of "The Vicarious Sacrifice," Bushnell writes of the uses and ways of modern preaching as follows: —

"They begin with the grand primal fact of the Incarnation; for it is only in that, and by that, mystery that the Person arrives whose history is to be entered into the world. Considered as the God-man, there is not a single fact or scene in the history which, fitly conceived, does not yield some lesson of power: the infancy; the thirty years of silent preparation; the recoil of the poor human nature, called the temptation, where the work begins; every healing, every miracle, every friendship, every condemnation, every denunciation; the lot of poverty; the hour of oppressed feeling; the weariness and sleep; the miraculous hem of his garment; the transfiguration; the prayers; the amazing assumptions of a common glory and right with the Father; the agony, the trial, the crucifixion, the resurrection; the appearings and tender teachings afterwards; and, last of all, the ascension, followed by the descent of the Spirit to represent and be Himself, according to His promise, a Christ everywhere present, everywhere accessible,

no longer limited and localized in space, — in all these, and in all He said and taught concerning God, Himself, and us, the preacher is to find staple matter for his messages. There is almost nothing, even as to his mere manners and modes, which, if he is truly alive, will not open some gate or crevice into chambers of glory for the conscience and the heart."

It is Professor Allen, in his recent volume, "The Continuity of Christian Thought," who has called the attention of students of Church-history to the entire subject which Dr. Mulford has brought before the public in his treatise on theology. A diligent student of Church-history himself, his mind is surcharged with the subject; and, by his rare felicity of thought and expression, he has given voice to the unuttered thoughts of many whose hearts have been musing upon this theme.

Dr. Mulford's "Republic of God" is the next important theological product of the thought of this age. This is a book of to-day; and the judgment of to-day is not final or absolute. Its gifted author has passed away, before the men of the present have fairly known the book or its creator.

It is seldom given to the men of any age to see

the ultimate development of the thought of their age; but the wide and varied criticism of this institute of theology, insures its safe position and its continuance as a fountain of investigation, while the calm, seer-like rhythm of its postulates, reminds one of that sense of certainty and lofty command which comes from the reading of the higher and more rational pages of Emmanuel Swedenborg.

As Professor Allen says: —

"The only self-consistent hypothesis is that of Deity, indwelling in the historical process, and conducting it to its conclusion. Thence when God was enthroned in the remotest parts of space, or was localized on the altar or in the sacred book, the protest of humanity never ceased to be heard, and with increasing force bore witness to a higher truth. To formal theology this cry of the soul for God was known as mysticism. Mysterious it undoubtedly was to those who fancied that they stood in the place of God, and believed that the government of the world or of the Church devolved solely upon themselves."

But now this cry comes not as the yearning entreaty of mysticism, but as the rational, middle-current thought of the reasonable, religious, and holy faith of the Church.

There is not a leaf, or a flower, or a growing plant, that is not a parable of the Incarnation, — a picture of God's power revealed in this world of His. There is not a process of mental argument, or a brilliant display of intellection carried on in the human mind, revealing a man of genius, which is not an image of God blending Himself with His children, and speaking divinely through their thoughts, as an Æolian harp must sigh and murmur when the wind of heaven breathes through it. There is not a heathen nation worshipping its stock, or stone, or living creature, which does not prefigure thereby, even through its rank heathenism, this central thought of divine power revealed or manifested here in time.

You may study out the meaning of Egyptian animal-worship, or of Grecian mythology, with its heroes born of Olympian gods and terrene women; but even these, after all, were only the vain attempts of human nature, to coin out into definite shape this darling instinct of the human heart, — that divine power must in some way be incarnate upon the earth; that the Supreme Divinity, the Father of all gods and men, would not leave His children alone, and without conscious, definite help, forever.

And this new conception of the doctrine of the Incarnation, when once it is firmly and philosophically held, must, in time, reverse our entire system of theology. Instead of beginning with a far-off, absent God, at the farthest point of space, and coming down by deductional step-ladder through the argument from design, and the argument from the consent of mankind, and the presumption of the human mind, and the ontological, cosmological, and teleological arguments united, we come to man, and find at last in human history the Saviour for man. We must begin with the fact of a personal Christ as the greatest fact of human history, and, laying our hand on Him whose feet have trod our sinning earth, must work upwards by the inductional method until we reach in spirit and in truth that God who is a spirit while He is a father, and the father of all spirits, — that God who seeketh the worship of that which in man is spiritual.

There has been no such interpretation of man's nature as Christ's interpretation of it. There has been no such revelation of the Father as the revelation which Christ has given us.

Christ has made man known. He has made God known. He comes from the bosom of the

Father. He finds a fitting home in the bosom of man, the Father's child.

The Copernican system enlarged man's grasp of astronomy, simply because it began with a definite centre in the sun, rather than with the indefinite infinitude of the Ptolemaic method.

And Christian theology must begin with the central fact of Christ, and find that the Kingdom of God, with all its light, as well as with all its righteousness, shall be added, when this fact is firmly and rationally held.

As a reviewer of Dr. Mulford's book, "The Republic of God," has truly said: —

"This religious movement is an attempt to escape from the theological limitations, and reach the simpler beliefs of the historical Churches. It is not an outreaching toward science as such; but it is the approach toward a broader theology at the same time that it is an attempt to realize the idea of God immanent in the world, in the way it was understood in the earlier Greek theology. It is hard to conceive how narrowing has been the scope of what is called Latin theology, since Augustine, in the fourth century, formulated its distinctive positions. It has been a belief in God under severe limitations; and when Calvin, the

great religious genius of the Reformation, undertook to improve upon Augustine, while retaining his dogmatic spirit, the iron entered into men's souls, and a hard, legal, formal religion, in which God was deaf and distant, has been the result.

"Men want a whole God, a whole Christ, an entire humanity; and in a way which is taught neither in the Latin nor in the Puritan theology, they desire to see this result brought about. Just how it is coming no man can say; but that it is coming, that it is in the air, that it is at the moment of dawning, is just as certain as the fact that the intelligent Christian people of America, are rapidly walking away from their traditional religious convictions, and beginning to entertain new thoughts of God and man and human destiny. And this movement is as positive in affirmations as are the postulates of science; and the onward tread of the multitude, who are in it, is like the tramp of the Roman legions on the highways of that ancient empire."

The terminology of Scripture and of the Prayer Book is surcharged with a past interpretation of its meaning. A new interpretation of the terms of our faith is at our very doors to-day: the light

of a higher theology than any the world has as yet seen is already breaking upon us, in which all that is truest and best in the most rigid orthodoxy will have a settled and abiding place in the Christian Church, and in which the position of Christ as the Son of God will come out with a higher and a fuller meaning than the Church has as yet recognized, and in which the cautious reserve of every form of Arianism, with its narrowing and carefully balanced limitations, will be swept away in the fullest assertion that the human Christ was so far divine that He was Himself God. But, while I believe the new view is surely coming, I cling reverently to the sacred terminology of the past, until the dissolving view of the present brings out a perfect new in the place of the veritable old.

This movement towards a new setting of theology upon the Christological, rather than upon the theological, basis, shows signs of breaking into two divisions. The left wing of thought stumbles at the supernatural in human history, breaks with the value of the inspiration of the Scriptures, makes of God a term or hook for the devout thoughts of the religious instinct to hang its worship upon, and sees in Christ the flower of

humanity, and adores Him as the ideal of the highest development of the forces of human character.

Miracles are not; prayer is a deliverance from self-consciousness; immortality is an instinct in man. The supernatural is ruled out of the domain of the reign of law, but the moral heritage of the code of righteousness, lingers in this generation as a tradition from the sturdy stuff of our forefathers.

The right wing, on the other hand, recognizes the supernatural, and takes the confession of Frothingham to-day as the verdict of the well-balanced Christian consciousness, that after all one's studies of the meaning of Christianity, and after a life spent in the most vehement denial of it, one is compelled to admit that there must be a supernatural power back of the Christian Church, as the secret cause of its survival. It further admits that we begin life with a mystery, and end it with a mystery; and that, somewhere in human nature and in human history, a place is left for God; and that this bulk of divine essence which we call the supernatural is only, after all the pressing upon the world of the material and the finite, the unknown possibilities of the spiritual

and the infinite. Religion by its very nature must begin and end in mystery.

Moreover, with reference to the divinity of Christ, this school of inquirers maintains that the true power of the Saviour's life was the consciousness of His higher nature, — his burden of pre-existence, which came out at last in his intercessory prayer, "And now, O Father, glorify Me with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was." Even in the scene of the Christ-child in the temple, there was this dream of pre-existence, this dim consciousness of a life beyond and before his human life, — a Heavenly Father, and a Heavenly Father's business.

The rudimentary germ of this dream of pre-existence is found even in our lives. You cannot make a little child believe that he came from nothing. He has always some confused legend or dream in his mind about coming from God, or f om some beautiful place, where he was very tenderly dealt with, before he was left as a little stranger in this world, with its sigh of mysteries about him. For myself, I believe that this innate rudimentary germ of an idea about pre-existence, means that the soul lives in the thought that God originally thought of it. That

is the far-off, original place for it; or, as Wordsworth says, —

> "Heaven lies about us in our infancy.
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness;
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God who is our home."

And thus in our poor, stunted human nature's dream of pre-existence, we see the germ of that which, in the perfect man Jesus Christ, was the human consciousness of the divine power. And it is this bulk of divine power in Christ, which, in bringing down God to man, has overcome the power of death; and has made out of the human instinct of immortality, a demonstrated gift to man.

Which of these two schools of interpretation will become the heir to the heritage of truth in the past, and the representative of God's revealed truth to the future, awaits the discoverer of the future.

For with the law of the ascent of truth, there comes also a law of descent of heritage.

The bones of Joseph were carried up into the land of promise as a souvenir of God's deliverance

in the past. Even so the caravan of the Christian Church takes with it, into every new opening of truth, the sacred symbol of bygone deliverances.

But best of all is this: Christ is with His Church; God is with His people. At His signal we stand still, or we move forward. But we cannot go back to that darkness and slavery which always reigns where He is stripped of His power, and is not.

I can remember, as a child in Philadelphia, the cry of the watchmen at midnight, as, with swinging lanterns, the hours of the night were called out by the street-patrol, with the added words, "All is well!" I can remember at night the bolted stores, with heavy padlocks and iron shutters to guard and keep the precious wares within.

But to-day the stores and offices have no longer those iron shutters and those heavy dungeon-bars. No longer a paid patrol calls out that all is well, in the dark hours of night. The defence of the store, laden with precious wares, is in the light that is within the building. The defence of the city streets is no longer with the night-watchmen: it is with the white glare of the electric moons, which, like a string of burning beads, are strung through the crowded thoroughfares.

In other words, the method of defence is changed. It is the light within which protects, simply in the act of revealing. And thus it is with this changed basis of the defence of our faith. Parting as we do to-day from the iron decrees, and the logical bolts of a former system of theology, we can sing with a new meaning, as we think of Christ, the light of the world, and the light of the soul, that old psalm of the songs of degrees, "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain who build it. Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

CHAPTER III.

THE PRACTICAL DEVELOPMENT.

I HAVE spoken thus far of the separate and distinct gifts to our Church by men of strong conviction and of a resolute conscience.

I have also spoken of the evident development of theological thought in the direction of a Christological basis, which, however, as Professor Allen has shown in his "Continuity of Christian Thought," is only a revival of the old theology, since "the old is better."

This heritage of conviction and of experience is our rightful possession to-day. We are the heirs of these men of faith and courage; and that which was once their hard-earned property is ours to-day. We will shame our children, and those who are to come after us, if we do not utilize our inheritance, or if we continue to look at the past historical development of the Church in the narrow light of mere partisan handicraft. The day for the journeyman's conception of work is over: we ought

to be master-workmen now in the creative period which lies before us.

With this end in view, let me in this chapter point out some of the mile-stones on this ascent towards unity, that we may understand how far we have come in the journey, and may have a realizing sense of the distance which separates us from "the land that is afar off."

The first movement which inevitably commands our attention when we make any study of this subject, is the attitude of Dr. Muhlenberg in "The Memorial Papers."

There were four dreams which this saintly poet had very close to his heart, — St. Luke's Hospital, the free Church of the Holy Communion, St. John-land, and Church Unity, as evidenced by that movement which was known as "The Memorial Papers." The first three of these visions he lived to see as established facts. The fourth aspiration of his holy spirit yet awaits fulfilment, and is the inspiration of the Church, in its outlook upon the future, to-day.

The recently published life of Dr. Muhlenberg, together with his "Memorial Papers," have made this position which he took upon the subject of Church unity familiar to all students of present

Church-history. There is nothing in the history of the American Church so fraught with great possibilities, as the outline of the future which he sketched with a firm hand and a believing soul. This vision is for an appointed time; and the seer being dead, yet speaketh. The lesser objects sought for in these "Memorial Papers," such as the relaxation of the stereotype order of services, and the enrichment and flexibility of the liturgy, have been already attained. The one great object of his life, as he pressed again and again for the appointment by the General Convention of a standing Episcopal commission upon the subject of Church unity, yet awaits accomplishment. The day for its realization has been postponed, until two results have been gained by the Church: first, its deeper sense of the need of a unification of Protestant Christendom, as new and unforeseen dangers thicken upon us; and, secondly, a faith that will accept this high ideal as among the possibilities, according to our Lord's words, "all things are possible to him that believeth."

The author of his biography in speaking of this movement says: —

"This Memorial, originating with Dr. Muhlenberg, was a high and noble venture for the emanci-

pation of the Church. It was presented to the House of Bishops, as a council of the Protestant Episcopate, by Dr. Muhlenberg and others of the clergy in sympathy with him. The movement had a twofold bearing: 'one on the Episcopal Church as such; the other, which was its ultimate scope, on that Church considered in its essential elements as the form of a broader and more catholic system.' Both as to its formative idea and its widest development, the Memorial was powerfully and exhaustively set forth by Dr. Muhlenberg in a succession of pamphlets. Apart from their direct object, these papers are worth perusal for their beauty and fervor of utterance, their luminous argument, their pertinent and instructive illustrations, and, together with their boldness, the absence of any acrimony, the gentle and loving spirit which, like a golden chord running through them, binds all together as a pure offering on the sacred altar of Christian unity." (Life of Dr. Muhlenberg, pp. 260, 261.)

The late Rev. Dr. E. A. Washburn, whose body now rests by the side of his saintly friend in the quiet shades of the realized dream of St. John-land, thus speaks of him: —

"It was then (at the date of the Memorial) that

I first knew him personally; and never can I forget the impression he left on me. He was at his ripest age. The glow of youth had passed into a large wisdom, but there was childlike faith — the intuition of the heart, the broken torrent of eloquent speech, the grand catholic aspiration. Every conversation on the Memorial comes back to me. It was his conviction that our Church needed to act, with all its capabilities, in the vast, growing field of missions and of ministries for all conditions of men. But, more than this, he felt that the best way of reconciliation for our strifes was larger room for real work. High and low parties were wasting their strength in quarrel over rubrics. The strife, in his view, was imbittered, because both were hemmed within the small area of an inflexible system." At this very hour a large part of the freedom which the Memorial asked is virtually gained.

The language of the Memorial seems, in certain places, to be made vivid, and to have become italicized by the needs of the present age. How striking is the following paragraph, as the situation herein described, seems to have become intensified by the distractions of the present: —

"The divided and distracted state of our Amer-

ican Protestant Christianity; the new and subtle forms of unbelief adapting themselves, with fatal success, to the spirit of the age; the consolidated forces of Romanism, bearing with renewed skill and activity against the Protestant faith; and, as more or less the consequence of these, the utter ignorance of the gospel among so large a portion of the lower classes of our population, making a heathen world in our midst, — are among the considerations which induce your memorialists to present the inquiry, whether the period has not arrived for the adoption of measures to meet these exigencies of the times, more comprehensive than any yet provided for by our present ecclesiastical system? In other words, whether the Protestant Episcopal Church, with only her present canonical means and appliances, her fixed and invariable modes of public worship, and her traditional customs and usages, is competent to the work of preaching and dispensing the gospel, to all sorts and conditions of men, and so adequate to do the work of the Lord in this land and in this age?

This question your petitioners, for their own part, and in consonance with many thoughtful minds among us, believe must be answered in the negative. Their memorial proceeds on the assumption

that our Church, confined to the exercise of her present system, is not sufficient to the great purposes above mentioned, — that a wider door must be opened for admission to the gospel-ministry than that through which her candidates for holy orders are now obliged to enter. Besides such candidates among her own members, it is believed that men can be found among the other bodies of Christians around us, who would gladly receive ordination at your hands, could they obtain it without that entire surrender, which would now be required of them, of *all* the liberty in public worship to which they have been accustomed, — men who could not bring themselves to conform in all particulars to our prescriptions and customs, but yet sound in the faith; and who, having the gifts of preachers and pastors would be able ministers of the New Testament."

. . . . . .

"In addition," the Memorial continues, "to the prospect of the immediate good which would thus be opened, an important step would be taken towards the effecting of a Church unity in the Protestant Christendom of our land. To become a central bond of union among Christians, who, though differing in name, yet hold to the one

faith, the one Lord, and the one baptism, and who need only such a bond to be drawn together in closer and more primitive fellowship, is here believed to be the peculiar province and high privilege of your venerable body as a college of catholic and apostolic bishops, as such. This leads your petitioners to declare the ultimate design of their memorial; which is, to submit the practicability, under your auspices, of some ecclesiastical system, broader and more comprehensive than that which you now administer, surrounding and including the Protestant Episcopal Church as it now is, — leaving that Church untouched, — identical with that Church in all its great principles, yet providing for as much freedom in opinion, discipline, and worship, as is compatible with the essential faith and order of the gospel. To define and act upon such a system, it is believed, must, sooner or later, be the work of an American catholic episcopate."

There are two striking points in Dr. Muhlenberg's explanation of this Memorial. The first of these is his repeated demand for a council or a congress of churches. This was long before the successful termination of the venture of the American Episcopal Church Congress; so that we have

to-day a precedent for this action, which was not known in the day when the Memorial was written. The second point which his seer-like mind seized upon, far in advance of the slowly plodding masses of the Church, was the question of ordination. Concerning the difficulties in the way to a uniformity of ordination he says: —

"The only possible way of removing the obstacle appears to be this: In a council of representatives from the various churches, assembled to debate the matter, let it be agreed to adopt that form of ordination, or conveyance of the external commission to the ministry, *which all believe to be sufficient, and not repugnant to the word of God.*

In order to accomplish this, there must be no inquiry which ordination is the most apostolical, or which the most like that of the primitive Church, or which the most excellent; for on these questions every one would have his own views, and of course would contend for them; and thus there would be a repetition of the old and endless controversies with which the Church has long enough been perplexed. The single point to be determined should be, what form of ordination is acknowledged to be valid by all, and may be received by all without any sacrifice of conscience.

If no such ordination can be found, union is impossible. If there cannot be a cordial admission of the due authority of one another's ministry by the several churches, it is evident they must remain asunder. But the requisite ordination, it is believed, may be found. Let Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Congregationalists meet harmoniously, and compare their views. Let them canvass the question in the spirit of brotherly love, and honestly endeavor to discover some ground of peace and union. Let them consent to substitute, in place of what they now prefer, any form of ordination in which all could conscientiously unite, and they would not be long in coming to a decision."

In a note to this passage he further adds, — "The question of the sufficiency of ordination could not be determined by the plurality of voices in the council; for the conscience of no *one* must be violated. The majority could not change the minority's views of truth. The problem to be solved is, what is expedient in the exigency, and lawful in the eyes of all. Any arguments of divine origin or superior antiquity would only throw the council into interminable discussion."

A suggestion, in passing, upon this vexing ques-

tion is here made; viz., whether the power and value of a genuine ordination for a reconstructed ministry may not, after all, be found to inhere in a syndicate or ecclesiastical commission, in which a clerical member of each religious body shall contribute his special form of ordination, by the laying-on of hands.

But this can only be brought to pass in exact proportion to our sense of need, and in the inverse ratio of the pressure from the Church of Rome and the forces of unbelief. Such was this memorial movement over which the strong personality of the saintly yet practical Muhlenberg still hovers today with an undimned and fascinating power.

We pass on to another contribution to this subject: —

"Early in 1874, Bishop Coxe published a volume on unity, entitled 'Apollos; or, the Way of God,' which has been often found helpful, perhaps even more so in England than here. In this book, Christians of other communions, — courteously represented under the image of Apollos, the 'eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures,' sitting for a time at the feet of the tent-makers, Aquila and Priscilla — are invited, like their prototype, to learn 'the way of God more perfectly.' The true

teacher, however, is to be the Bible, especially in passages somewhat neglected, and supplying 'complementary truths,' the right use of which will disclose God's way in its fulness. This process should bring about a general approach to primitive Christianity; and it is implied that our system, to which we ourselves are not wholly faithful, is essentially scriptural and primitive. But the summons to accept it is not uttered. 'The conditions of modern catholicity,' says Bishop Coxe, 'do not permit me to speak as I must in the days of Cyprian' (p. 253). It has been common for us to expect 'our apostolic claims to win over the thoughtful and educated;' but there is much to discourage such expectations (265–66). God may have purposes for America which we do not dream of. 'We live in circumstances . . . in which the divine compassion may fairly be invoked to revive the work of unity, by extraordinary developments of Providence.' None the less must we bear our witness to all that God has shown us (270–71). The absence of definite proposals for unification is in harmony with the tone of the book, in which we seem to hear one, who has pleaded in vain for peace, saying humbly, if not sadly, 'Let God teach us all how to be at peace.'

"Five years later, Bishop Coxe published a short paper on 'Church Unity' in the 'Church Review' (May–June, 1879). Two or three sentences must suffice: 'Providence seems to indicate that our greatest power for good, just now, lies in making clear to our countrymen the vast advantages of the Christian Year.' This 'will bring with it liturgical worship, and the liturgy will work out the rest by God's blessing. . . . In another generation there will be a great study of first principles, and a return to a primitive spirit. God grant to our dear Church the grace and wisdom . . . meantime to watch and keep her garments, listening to what the "Spirit saith unto the churches."'"
— Rev. Wm. G. Andrews: *Standard of the Cross*, March 29, 1883.

The next in this succession of efforts towards unity was in 1870, when Rev. Dr. William R. Huntington of Massachusetts published a little book entitled "The Church Idea: An Essay toward Unity." "Entertaining," he says, "no such foolish expectation" as that American Christians are going to accept the minute details of the Anglican system, he names four points as essential. These are, briefly, the Bible, the Creeds, the Sacraments, and the Episcopate. Liturgical worship is expressly

excluded from the list. "Why might there not be congregations, . . . some of them with a liturgy modified from the prevailing type, and some of them with no liturgy at all save . . . in the administration of the two sacraments, the words of Christ Himself . . . ?"

And again, thirteen years afterwards, in a sermon entitled "Twenty Years of a Massachusetts Rectorship," Dr. Huntington says, "The truth is, American Christianity is languishing to-day for the lack of a special enthusiasm, the inspiration of a definite purpose. There is a certain deadness in the air which all perceive." But the subject of Church unity acts like a tonic, and revives these wearied bodies.

We pass on to the next notice of this subject. "In the first number of the 'Church Review' for 1880 is an article on 'The Church's Mission of Reconciliation,' by Dr. John Cotton Smith. It appeared, therefore, about a year before his untimely death, when his great influence was still growing, and when he was felt to speak for the Church more adequately than he had once been wrongly imagined to speak for a party. Believing as firmly as ever that we are charged with a 'special agency in building up the future Church of

the nation,' and that this does not require an 'unconditional surrender to us by our brethren, he says, 'Probably not much more can be done at present . . . than to make our own Church more and more truly evangelical and catholic,' and to get 'a more intelligent and generous estimate' of others. But since the dangers which threaten Christianity may soon make the task of unification urgent, we must especially learn 'to be at unity among ourselves,' recognizing and accepting that comprehensiveness which 'is a great glory of the Church.'" — Rev. WILLIAM G. ANDREWS: *Standard of the Cross*, March 29, 1883.

Church unity, then, is the dream of the Christian thinkers and workers of to-day. The scattered sects of the Church universal have encamped for three centuries in the hastily-constructed booths which were formed at the period of the Reformation. This scattered condition of the Church cannot be the ideal state of Christianity. It cannot be that the Church of the future is to reproduce this lonely experience of the Post-Reformation epoch.

We have learned a great lesson of self-reliance and of discipline during this long waiting period of three hundred years. Energies have been aroused; methods have been tested; the faith,

on its ethical, intellectual, and emotional sides has been tried, and has stood the strain of every conceivable method of development and form of expression. Sects to-day are tired of worn-out issues: a larger spirit of that God, "whose service is perfect freedom," is abroad. Teachers cannot repudiate the past; but, at the same time, they want a larger future. The old measuring-lines are breaking down: it is a period of change and transition, — a period which most certainly is the prelude to a new era of construction.

Believing in God's hand in the past, holding to the indications of His providence in the present, what can the men of to-day do for the true catholicity of the future?

Let me point out a few steps in our present pathway toward a practical Church unity, as the condensation of a large subject into a series of definite propositions.

1. Begin with the practical; not with the ideal. Heretofore we have begun with the far-off ideal of Church unity, not with the practical. Our Lord worked His miracle of feeding the multitude with the small material He had on hand. Still it was something to begin with; and when the work began it grew. The apostles began at the practical Jerusalem, not at far-off Athens or Rome.

2. Let fictitious forms of unity pass away. For myself, I believe that the "Evangelical Alliance" conception of Christian unity is a thing of the past. The spirit of unity demands a body of unity: a body means ribs and bones, and a structural spinal column. A rope of sand is not a structure. We must begin at that which will lead up to a structure.

3. Begin with the pattern of the Christian year. The cathedrals of Europe are built upon the pattern of the cross. The Church of Christ, as a unit, must be built upon the life of Christ. Already different religious bodies keep Christmas and Good Friday and Easter. Fill out the rest of the Church year. Let the Church at large recognize All Saints' Day (the memorial day of the dead), Advent, Whitsunday, Ascension Day, Trinity Sunday, and let the thought of the pulpit and the teaching of the Sunday School note the season the Church is keeping in memory of her Lord. This will save us from having the doctrine of the resurrection taught by the international question-papers, while the Church is keeping in memory the advent of her Lord.[1]

[1] "Let the American churches unite, as some of them already do, in the practice of nearly all the churches abroad, of observing the great historic days of Christianity which commemorate the

4. Make the season of Lent the universal season of special religious interest. Change the week of prayer from its unmeaning position at the first of the year, — when bills are more plenty than prayers, — to that season when the Roman, Greek, Anglican, and Lutheran churches are having special religious services as they are following Christ in His passion. Surely there is power in sympathy: there is in likeness of service. There is contagion in sympathy: there is power in the thought of fellowship. Surely this is the season for special services of religious interest, when more than two-thirds of those who are named after Christ are in devotion upon their knees.

5. Let steps be taken for an inter-ecclesiastical Church congress. This might be held biennially or triennially, and on the same system as the English or American Church-congress system. Let it be held in the spring of the year; and let it take the place of the decaying May anniversaries, which were once such a power, but now only a memory.

Let the representatives be clerical and lay depu-

Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and on these days making all sanctuaries to resound with the universal creed, — the Te Deum, the Glorias, the common heritage of us all, — so demonstrating both present union and the oneness of the Church of the past with the Church of to-day." — Dr. Muhlenberg's *Evangelical Catholic papers: paper on the Lord's Supper.*

ties; let them come to this central meeting-place, not to vote, or to preach, or to hold any ecclesiastical functions. Let them come to tell what they have, and what they lack.

Already in the Church of England, and in the Episcopal Church in America, great results in the way of practical unity have been brought to pass by this Church-congress system. There is no short and easy road to unity. It must be brought to pass by the survival *of the strongest conviction*, and the *most permanent organization.* The first step to be taken is to define our differences. Clearness of thought comes by all our efforts to define; and it may be that a far-off, essential unity may, after all, cover, while it crowns, our manifold variety of methods.

6. Let there be room in all our plans for the spirit of God to work in. Who can estimate the power of prayer in such a field as this? Who can limit the possibilities of God's spirit, when once it works mightily in human hearts, and makes men willing in the day of His power? Who can tell what special blessing from the divine Comforter — who has been promised to us on purpose to lead us into all truth — may be ours when once we begin to take the first right steps? The pathway is

blocked with theoretical difficulties: we cannot see our way more than a few steps in advance. But we can never take the later steps until we begin with the first steps: we can never reach the ideal until we honestly begin with the practical.

Such are a few condensed thoughts on the subject of the first steps towards practical Church unity. We must begin with what we have: we must not surrender our past heritage, only we must not insist on carrying all the baggage — the "impedimenta" of our forefathers — into the long-expected promised land. Honest effort, prayer, faith, a firm grip upon the essentials, a willingness to be taught, and a large-heartedness, will bring our weary feet at last into "a large room."

There is a reserve of conviction and of motive in this appeal which cannot now be considered. From that Church which is dear to all her children, and is historically the mother of us all, this message goes forth to-day.

Is it in vain that a voice says, Cry?

If not, "Why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be had in *bringing back our king?*"[1]

[1] The meetings at Hartford in May, 1885, and at Cleveland in May, 1886, of "The American Congress of Churches," was the practical result of this appeal in the name of the saintly Muhlenberg, sent forth on Nov. 10, 1883, the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's birthday.

CHAPTER IV.

GROUNDS OF CHURCH UNITY.

In the present chapter I shall put my thoughts into a series of consecutive propositions, in order to show what is meant by Church unity, and what the grounds of this unity really are.

I. The human mind will never outgrow its own inherent tendency to reduce confusion to order. It has done this in theology, in politics, and in social science. It seeks to do so still in the department of Church-life. As long as there is a heart of Africa to be explored, there will always be a Livingstone or a Stanley who will seek for it. As long as there is a north pole undiscovered, there will be a Franklin, a Kane, or a Greely, who will travel northward, undismayed by arctic terrors. As long as there is confusion in the life of the Church where there is a possibility of order, there will be minds which will struggle to solve the hard problem.

II. The fact that this subject has always attracted the attention of logical, as well as saintly, minds is worthy of our attention. That which has interested interesting natures comes to us with a double weight of interest.

III. Unity is different from union. The Union Army in the late war was a different element from the unity of the National Government to-day. Union may help to make unity, if the union elements are sympathetic. Yet the unity of a piece of mosaic work is different from the unity of the growth of a tree.

IV. Christian unity must appear in the light of a growth or sequence from opposite standpoints toward a common goal. Unity must be a concentric growth, not a one-sided absorption. Yet the loyal churchman will never break a hedge for the sake of making outward peace at the expense of inward confusion.

V. The unity which is suggested by the concurrent religious thought of to-day in this country is not

(1) The unity of dogma, as was the movement of Pusey and Newman, nor

(2) The unity of sentiment, as was the drift of the Evangelical Alliance, but is

(3) The unity of the practical religious American mind seeking for definite, available results.

VI. This practical unity is found in the atmosphere and thought of the present, and is suggested by these four facts: —

(1) The running out of the sect idea in the development of modern Christianity. Many sects are already beyond the issue which gave them birth, as with Universalism.

(2) The economic waste of the machinery of religion in our rival organizations and Church-life.

The practical business-mind of to-day is appalled by the waste of money in our rival churches, charities, and philanthropic enterprises.

This practical business-mind resolves the problem of Christian unity into two divisions; viz., to close out the decaying churches in our deserted towns in the East, and to stop the multiplication of warring churches in the new towns of the West, giving the right of way to those churches which have taken first possession of the place, and are adequately supplying the religious needs of the people.

(3) The social parity of our present Church-life, — different members of the same family going to different churches, and the clergy meeting at weddings, funerals, and charity organizations.

(4) The crying need in our land for a central

stand of Christian ethics, as in the matter of divorce, temperance, and the Sunday question.

VII. Such a practical unity would, in time, create a national standard, and would in so far lead to a national Church; just as the National Government rests, after all, upon the free autonomy of the separate States. The keynote of it all is that strong and dominant American word which has solved a revolution and settled a rebellion, — "Federation."

VIII. Although it is not given to the men of any period to see the results of that period, we can, at present, notice three tendencies of thought which are perceptibly modifying the theological and ecclesiastical life of to-day: —

(1) The penetrating influence of the hypothesis of evolution, which in some strong way has taken hold of the popular mind.

(2) The changed conception of the doctrine of inspiration, with the consequent loss of the Protestant standard of infallibility; and

(3) The centralization of power in the religious and socialistic forces of the age.

IX. Three centres of authority, and only three, appear to-day: —

(1) The infallibility dogma of the Church of Rome.

(2) The visible definiteness of scientific materialism.

(3) The limited, because finite, hypothesis of rational Christianity.

To explain what I mean by this limited, because finite, hypothesis of a rational Christianity, — which, however, is neither rationalistic nor a characterless via media, — let me quote a passage from Shorthouse's story of "John Inglesant:" —

"'The Church of England,' I said, seeing that Mr. Inglesant paused, 'is, no doubt, a compromise, and is powerless to exert its discipline. It speaks with abated assurance; while the Church of Rome never falters in its utterance, and, I confess, seems to me to have a logical position. If there be absolute truth revealed, there must be an inspired exponent of it, else from age to age it could not get itself revealed to mankind.' 'This is the Papist argument,' said Mr. Inglesant. 'There is only one answer to it — *absolute truth is not revealed.* There were certain dangers which Christianity could not, as it would seem, escape. As it brought down the sublimest teaching of Platonism to the humblest understanding, so it was compelled by this very action to reduce spiritual and abstract truth to hard and inadequate dogma. As it inculcated

a sublime indifference to the things of this life, and a steadfast gaze upon the future, so by this very means it encouraged the growth of a wild, unreasoning superstition. From the instant the Founder of Christianity left the earth — perhaps even before — this ghastly spectre of superstition ranged itself side by side with the advancing faith. It is confined to no church or sect: it exists in all.'

"'But if absolute truth is not revealed,' I said, 'how can we know the truth at all?' — 'We cannot say how we know it,' replied Mr. Inglesant; 'but this very ignorance proves that we can know. We are the creatures of this ignorance against which we rebel. From the earliest dawn of existence we have known nothing. What thought should we have other than this ignorance which we have imbibed from our growth, but for the existence of some divine principle; as when the Founder of Christianity said, "The kingdom of God is within you"?'"

X. This basis of rational Christianity, while it rejects both the dogma of Roman infallibility, and the denials of scientific agnosticism, accepts a positive, definite fact in the midst of Christian mysteries.

On this basis both the Anglican Church and her

American daughter stand; and standing there have already fulfilled the prophecy of Maurice, and have become, both by inheritance and by training, the leaders in this renaissance of practical Christian unity.

XI. To arrive at this practical unity, — which rests neither upon ecclesiastical dogma nor sentimental affiliations, but upon the economy of moral force, philanthropy, and an adaption to the wants of the age — will require

(1) A long period of patient preparation.

(2) A virtual change of base in our method of seeking unity.

As Grant took Vicksburg, not by a river advance or a land advance, but by a movement in the rear, so we must reach the heart of this subject, not by the theological advance of sect theology, or the ecclesiastical advance of our own favorite system, but by that practical and utilitarian advance which has been heretofore considered the rear of the subject.

At the first meeting of the Congress of Churches, held in Hartford in May, 1885, the Rev. Thomas K. Beecher used the following words: —

"In a life of single isolation, your speaker has been forced to seek and find a foundation for faith

and hope deeper than is afforded by Church, liturgy, or ceremony, however valuable or venerable. As he once, when a guest of Admiral Porter, and free of the whole ship, went down and down through three decks, till, on hands and knees in the dark, he touched the oaken planking, tense and trembling, and could say this; "This supports and floats me above the dark profound — by this we are saved;" so he has gone down through churches, creeds, and liturgies to find at last the truth or upholding of all in 'the Holy Ghost the Comforter.'"

To this same ultimate fact of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, we must alike, in such a work as this, descend. We can never afford to despise a world, or Church, or human character, into which, by evident tokens, the Holy Ghost has seen fit to descend and abide.

XII. Our American life shows us among the masses, at present, the centralization of power in two opposite directions: —

(1) The creed of Rome.

(2) The creed of Socialism.

XIII. To meet this changing condition of modern life, the churches of the Protestant Reformation must either disintegrate utterly and run out into

nothingness, or they must come together and seek a higher plane for a new lease of power.

If to this position the theoretical objection is made, that this is not "good churchmanship," the practical answer is found in the fact that soldiers by nature grow tired of the endless reverberation of the tatoo-drum, and that a healthful *sortie*, now and then, is better than whole years of "barrack churchmanship."

XIV. But it is objected,

(1) That this is not a "Church" position, and that Catholic dogma alone is the only antidote to modern doubt. To this I answer: —

The doubt of to-day goes deeper down than the dogmas of the Fathers ever went, and must be met by a combination of the living forces of Christendom wherever found, and not merely by any one phase of opinion.

Let me quote, in this connection, the words of James Martineau on the position of John Henry Newman, in the former's celebrated essay on "Personal Influences on Our Present Theology."

"Whence arises," he says, "that strange mixture of admiration and distrust of which most hearers and readers of John Henry Newman are conscious? Often as he carries us away by his close dialectic,

his wonderful readings of the human heart, his tender or indignant fervor, there remains a small, dark speck of misgiving, which we never can wipe out. The secret, perhaps, lies in this — that his own faith is an escape from an alternative scepticism, which receives the *veto*, not of his *reason*, but of his *will*. He has, after all, the critical, not the prophetic, mind. He wants *immediateness* of religious vision. Instead of finding his eye clearer, and his foot firmer the deeper he sinks toward the ultimate ground of trust, he hints that the light is precarious, and that your step may chance on the water or the rock in that abysmal realm.

"He loves to work in the upper strata of the minds with which he deals, detecting their inconsistencies, balancing their wants, satisfying them with the mere coherence and relative sufficiency of their belief, but encouraging them to shrink from the last questionings.

"With himself he sometimes goes deeper, and descends toward the bases of all belief; but evidently with less of assurance as his steps pass down.

"*His certainties are on the surface: his insecurities are below.* He seems to say within himself, 'There *is* no bottom to these things that I can find;

we must, therefore, *put one there*, and only mind that it be sufficient to hold them, in supposing it to be real.'"

Catholic dogma has its own legitimate sphere of defence. And for this we are thankful. But dogma alone is inadequate to the manifold expression of modern doubt.

(2) It is objected that this is not an "*orthodox*" position, since the creed-limitations of the Evangelical Alliance are not recognized.

To this the answer is, The Evangelical Alliance has virtually failed; and the time has come for a more positive, because more practical, attempt at unity.

XV. The grounds for Christian unity at the present time are found in the following facts: —

(1) That the Holy Ghost brings forth divine results in the Church at large, regardless of man-made measuring-lines.

(2) That the Holy Ghost and the Zeit Geist — a very strong combination — are alike leading the thoughts of Christian people to this subject.

(3) That the bleating of the sheep in opposite folds to get near together, which we hear on all sides, is the great discovery of the Christian life and thought of to-day.

(4) That the policy of absorption and the policy of repression having alike failed, the policy of growth from the basis of practical co-operation remains to be tried.

(5) That the problem of ecclesiastical reconstruction cannot be formulated in advance. It must be evolved out of the new life of the Church in its new epochs and new surroundings.

Vinet says in one place: "It may be that the Christianity of the future will show us that we have been hugging a delusion of which we shall be thoroughly ashamed."

(6) That the suggestions in such writings as Dr. Muhlenberg's Memorial Papers, with his scheme of a general commission on re-ordination, together with the suggestions of the practical minds of the present age, will help the Church to give expression to its new life in the future, as it has never lacked ability to do in the days that are past.

(7) And lastly in this group of facts: viz., —

(*a*) That we can but take the first right step, and wait there until the next step is shown.

(*b*) That we must leave room in all our plans for the working of that unknown factor — the power of the Spirit of God.

(*c*) That the convictions of one age frequently

cease to be the convictions of the next age; and that it is in the running out of old lines and the discovery of new ones that the Church's pathway of progress is made plain.

(*d*) That in all our efforts we must remember that the future is only the sequence of the past, and is always a development from the past, never the mere reproduction of it.

In closing this chapter let me add, that if the mind of the Church of the present says of its workers, who are laying their hands upon the future, "Behold, this dreamer cometh," I beg to remind all such of another point in that far-off Bible story; viz., that the very men who called their brother a dreamer in Goshen, were the same men who, in after years, were fed by the corn which he had saved for them in Egypt; for the pit into which they threw him so readily, was the unseen pathway to those hidden resources by which they and their families were saved.

But this argument on paper is not all that is left to us to-day. The spirit which is making for unity has already established a few strong precedents, — such as St. Louis, Hartford, Lanesborough, Cleveland, and Pittsfield, — whose story cannot be told in this chapter; and there are more developments to follow.

This spirit is working to the front in many lines of Church life and thought. It is in the air, and is making itself felt in strong thought and a quickened life.

And it is of such a spirit as this that we can say, in the words of Matthew Arnold, as he stood by the graves of the buried dead in Haworth churchyard: —

> "Hail to the spirit which dared
> Trust its own thoughts, before yet
> Echoed her back by the crowd!
> Hail to the courage which gave
> Voice to its creed, ere the creed
> Won consecration from time!"

CHAPTER V.

AN APPEAL TO THE CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS.

In the light of the recent growth and development of the Episcopal Church; in view of the undoubted fact of leadership as the oldest daughter of a reformed Christianity, which is generously accorded to her by those who profess and call themselves Christians in this new land of ours; in the presence of great responsibilities and of future capabilities, — a voice of earnest and solemn appeal is herewith sent forth to the bishops and ministers of our Church, and especially to the sober, common-sense, practical business minds of our unbiassed laity, not to risk all that has been bequeathed to us, and all that we have earned through a hard-worn development, by the throwing of a gambler's chance, in the proposed change of the Church's name to the use, in whole or in part, of the word "Catholic."

Let my words be in all moderation, "temperate

in all things," because of a reserved sense of faith and conviction; but let them be none the less earnest, as we come to this place of the parting of the waters, where we must be one for a larger, holier service before us, or where a sure and inevitable break must be, the like of which has not been since the days of John Wesley.

The line of argument of the so-called catholic school, which would change the present name of the Church, is the exact argument of the Catholic Apostolic Church, — commonly known as the movement of Edward Irving. The smaller the practical area covered, the larger is the theoretical catholicity. This dwindling, dying Church of the apostles cries out with its latest breath, "We are the one holy Catholic Apostolic Church." The catholic school in our own Church is repeating this same mistake, though it is all unconscious of its piteous similarity.

Two conceptions of unity, and only two, appear to-day. The one is the organic conception of a universal Church, which is the mediævalism of Charlemagne revived; the other is the conception of federation, which is of the present, and is practical. The great American idea is federation. This was the gift to our nation of that brilliant

statesman, Alexander Hamilton. This conception has raised a nation into being through a revolution, and has saved that same nation through the largest civil war ever recorded in history. The Church, when it has been strongest in history, has always taken on the color of the State which has supported it. This national idea of federation, is to-day knocking at the councils of our churches throughout the land, begging them to heed its winning, practical, Christian voice. It comes with the pressure of a wise Christian economy, and says to us, like wisdom crying in the market-place, "Unto you, O men, I call; heed my voice and spare your lavish waste of money in rival missions and warring sects." "The united churches of the United States," may yet mean something more than an interesting subject for a popular magazine.

All history is development. That which has been, is past and gone. That which is to be is now in germ. The path of the Church's progress can never be back to the bygone methods of former days. It never has been backward: it never can move in that direction, fondly as we may hope or dream of it, and in thus dreaming lose our hold upon the present.

We can take the inspirations of the past with us,

but we cannot take the past. The Lord God has called the earth from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof. From the East to the West we move. We look back to the early Church as if our Lord were there; forgetting that He is here with us to-day, and unmindful of the fact that the Holy Spirit has never left this earth since His descent upon it at the day of Pentecost.

A mediæval, organic, hierarchic Church unity is as yet a dream, and a dream only. The disciples dreamed of this, but it did not come to them. God gave it to the world once when it was a necessity. That necessity has never come again. New conditions, new life, new agencies are at work to-day. Why should we seek the living among the dead?

In the light of its past history and development, the proposition to change the name of our historic Church to the word "Catholic," is the movement of a certain school in the Church to define that which is the common property of all the Church's children. One child wants the family name changed in the law courts, whether the rest of the family are willing or not. We may not like the name we now have in all particulars: it may not be large enough: it may not be as all-embracing as we could desire; but we must grow up to a larger

life and to larger conditions. The Protestant Episcopal Church may grow to be the American Church. But we cannot make ourselves larger by an act of Congress.

It is in no narrow or partisan spirit that I plead for a veto upon this movement to change the name of the Church to the word "Catholic." The trouble is that this movement to change the Church's name is not large enough, is not profound enough, savors too much of the easy methods of Charlotanism, and is a striking instance of the practical narrowness of theoretical breadth. If the name "Catholic" is adopted, we shall turn back hundreds who are surely coming to us as we now are; and we will lose forever our hard-won gift of leadership.

I am not in love with the name Protestant Episcopal. I want it to grow to be the American Episcopal, or the American National, Church. But that name marks the turning of a great historic epoch. We are not ashamed of the strife which marked that epoch: we cannot afford to ignore it. We know on which side of that dividing line our Church has always stood. We will not give away in a moment, that for which our fathers laid down their lives to the death.

We stand where we are to-day, because we have entered the valley of present peace and prosperity, *via* the gateway of historic Protestantism. No legislation can ever wipe that fact away. John Bunyan's allegory is, after all, the truth of history. Giant Pope is on one side of the highway; Giant Pagan is upon the other side. What we want as God's plant in this Western world is to realize the American idea of a national Church, and move forward towards the plane of practical federation, against our triple foe of sin, Satan, and death.

We do not want to move backward, like Hezekiah's retreating sun-dial — fit symbol of a slowly but surely coming death — to the by-gone conception of a past catholicity. We want to move forward, and be in reality the American National Church, creating our true catholicity, as we grow in ripeness, wisdom, and power.

The spider weaves its web from itself: it is all-sufficient for the rounded pattern of its perfect circle. It never hunts in bygone corners for lost threads. In the same way the creation of a perfect catholicity, is from the Church's creative vitality to-day. It never can be found in past centuries or councils, where its lost threads are to be picked up in dusty corners. "*The kingdom of God is within you.*"

This so-called "catholic" school in our midst we love and honor and respect, for we are brethren; and great has been their work for the Master. All honor to these earnest, faithful men! But for one, I am afraid of their philosophy, and resist with all my power their definitions and the inferences drawn from them.

These men, albeit they know it not, are to-day setting in motion a rising whirlpool, whose suction-power towards Rome is simply irresistible.

If this earth, or any companion planet in the solar system, was dislodged from its orbit, it would rush onward madly through space, until it buried itself in the central, all-powerful sun. The inevitable law of gravitation would lead it there. It never would think of stopping to rest in the bosom of an asteroid. Gentlemen of the "catholic" school, your miniature system is, at the best, but a pretty little asteroid!

The burdened, tired souls, which are dislodged to-day from the basis of rational religion, as held by the standards of our national Church, will never rest content until they hug the altar of infallibility and sob themselves into peace at the feet of the great vicar of the Vatican.

Who has not felt the strain of this temptation

Romewards, who never would be tempted by the *petite* model of that Anglican imitation, which held for a moment, but could not longer detain in its soft and silken meshes, the stalwart reasoning of John Henry Newman? The cry to-day is, Let us have peace! Let us have unity! Yes; but if we have got to wrestle with the problem of what we are, and what our true name is, let us have it out on this Thermopylæ pass of what we mean by the Church of Jesus Christ. When men want a hierarchy to-day, and all that goes with it, they know full well where it can be had in richness and fulness and completeness; and the way is very easy to the voice of invitation which is sounded forth by the gentle Leo.

But surely our mission as a Church, and our way towards a possible and rational supremacy, is on simpler, while it is on more robust and more thoroughly national, lines. The Anglo-Saxon blood in our veins beats towards an honest national American Church; not towards a revived, dogmatic mediævalism in any form.

A new age is upon us, the like of which the world has never seen. The statue in New-York harbor is the symbol for the religious as well as the political world to-day. Liberty is indeed en-

lightening the world. Europe is learning from America. The present is to teach the future. The great power of the Vatican is quick to see this changing condition of modern life. Rome adapts herself to the situation, and is honoring the American branch of the Roman faith, by the most pronounced and manifest tokens of her favor. The Roman Catholic devotion to the American idea, is a most noticeable sign of our present-day life. How can we be so blind as to risk our leadership, and throw away our only chance of power, by stupidly insisting upon trying to adapt this growing, bustling, thinking American nation to a bygone phase of religious expression, — a mediæval epoch which is forgotten by the masses, and is only a theoretical stumbling-block, insuring our inevitable fall.

This movement to call our Church "Catholic" begins at the wrong end of the problem. Legislative enactment is the turret of the building; yet this movement would begin with the cupola, before the corner-stone has been laid.

What we ask is at the roots of this movement. Let us analyze it to its ultimate terms, and we shall find in it the following elements: —

1. A return to by-gone methods of Church-life.

2. An ignorance of the present conditions of life and thought.

3. An ignorance of the law of the progress of Church-life, by the development of the essential, through the dissolution of the non-essential.

4. The assumption of catholicity founded upon the *hierarchical hinge*, not upon the *common consent of the Christian consciousness*.

5. The "boast of heraldry and pomp of power," which in its essence is secular, and "is not of the father, but is of the world."

In the light of what we have been, and of the way in which God has led us; by our heritage from the past; by our broad comprehension and positive faith; by the legacy of power, bequeathed to us from the three schools of Church-life already described; by our hold upon our fellow Christians in this land to which God has led us; by the congress of churches, which has been our own Muhlenberg's vision realized; by the prospect before us of a practical federation of Christian workers; by the generous declaration of the House of Bishops, and the gracious and ready response of the Connecticut Christians of the historic Church of New England; by the ripeness of our Church for the future which awaits it; and by the loy-

alty of all her children to our Church as it is to-day, — a voice going forth from a region where the mountains bring peace to the people, not a council, or a conclave, or a convocation, but only a passing voice sent forth from the Eternal Hills, begs you, O men and brethren! as you survey your past, not to risk your fruitful future by your hasty action in the present.

Talk not of peace, O brethren! while you forge weapons of war. Speak not of unity, while you sow the seeds of schism. On you by your false philosophy, on you by your unconscious casuistry, must fall the responsibility of the great schism of the West, if you trifle with this vine which God by His providence has planted, this vine which He Himself has brought out of the Egypt of the past!

"Turn thee again, thou God of hosts: look down from heaven, behold and visit this vine; and the place of the vineyard that thy right hand hath planted, and the *branch that thou madest so strong for thyself*. Turn us again, O Lord God of hosts; shew the light of thy countenance, and we shall be whole."

APPENDIX.

Action of the House of Bishops at the General Convention at Chicago, October, 1886.

We do hereby solemnly declare to all whom it may concern, and especially to our fellow Christians of the different communions in this land, who in their several spheres have contended for the religion of Christ,

1. Our earnest desire that the Saviour's prayer "that we all may be one" may, in its deepest and truest sense, be speedily fulfilled.

2. That we believe that all who have been duly baptized with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, are members of the Holy Catholic Church.

3. That in all things of human ordering, or human choice, relating to modes of worship and discipline, or to traditional customs, this Church is ready, in the spirit of love and humility, to forego all preferences of her own.

4. That this Church does not seek to absorb other communions, but rather, co-operating with them on the basis of a common faith and order, to discontinue schism, to heal the wounds of the body of Christ, and to promote the charity which is the chief of Christian graces, and the visible manifestation of Christ to the world.

But, furthermore, we do hereby affirm that the Christian unity, now so earnestly desired by the memorialists, can be restored only by the return of all Christian communions to the principles of unity exemplified by the undivided Catholic Church, during the first ages of its existence; which principles we believe to be the substantial deposit of Christian faith and order committed by Christ and the apostles to the Church, unto the end of the world, and therefore incapable of compromise or surrender by those who have been ordained to be its stewards and trustees for the common and equal benefit of all men. As inherent parts of this sacred deposit, and therefore as essential to the restoration of unity among the divided branches of Christendom, we account the following: to wit,—

1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the revealed word of God.

2. The Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

3. The two sacraments — Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord — ministered with unfailing use of Christ's

words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.

4. The local episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and people called of God into the unity of His Church.

Furthermore, deeply grieved by the sad divisions which afflict the Christian Church in our own land, we hereby declare our desire and readiness, so soon as there shall be any authorized response to this declaration, to enter into brotherly conference with all or any Christian bodies seeking the restoration of the organic unity of the Church, with a view to the earnest study of the conditions under which so priceless a blessing might happily be brought to pass.

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